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PIERCE BUTLER—A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE library world, which to those who work in it is a world of action occupied, of necessity, with practical subjects, breeds as few philosophers as other practical-minded worlds. It is more impatient to be on the move than to inquire where it is moving, whether it should change direction, or whether it should exist at all. For over a quarter of a century Pierce Butler has been asking just those questions about libraries. Regarded as a rebel by some, because he dares to argue that a head librarian ought to think about matters other than, say, the speeding up of the delivery of books over the counter, he is called by others a prophet whose ideas form a basis for far more effective librarianship than exists at present. To Pierce Butler a library is not merely a collection of books but a collection of books selected and organized to meet the needs of a particular set of users. Any library, therefore—small, special, or large—preserves in some degree the intellectual content of any given culture at any given time. A country without libraries cannot be a civilized country. Any librarian with responsibility, it follows for Pierce Butler, can be judged to live up to that responsibility only in so far as he is familiar with the intellectual content of his culture. Not a specialist but both depending upon and transcending the knowledge of specialists, the ideal librarian, to him, represents the twentieth-century equivalent of a seventeenth-century encyclopedic, universal scholar. Such universality is regarded by most as impossible of attainment today; Pierce Butler believes it to be possible, and he believes that the key to it lies in a broad, understanding study of bibliography. Bibliography becomes for him an over-all discipline, which only graduate library schools, because of the limitations in a modern university's other graduate curriculums, are able to forge. To the realization of this concept of modern scholarly librarianship, an inspiring concept approximated by few other thinkers and teachers in library schools today, Pierce Butler has devoted the major part of his life.

The life of a scholar is seldom dramatic. But worth setting down, for the light they may shed upon his ideas, are the chief stages in the career of this old-fashioned rebel, this left-wing conservative in the library world. What made a Pierce Butler?

Born on December 19, 1886, in Clarendon Hills, Illinois, a remote suburb of Chicago lying between Hinsdale and Downers Grove, Pierce was the third son, with a sister to follow, in the family of John Pierce and Eva Contant Whipple Butler. When he was seven the family moved to the vicinity of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where his father had been made manager of a large country estate. Though Pierce had more than the normal run of childhood diseases—scarlet fever which left him permanently deaf, infantile paralysis which resulted in temporary lameness and an extreme curvature of the spine, and lockjaw (playing with a cream separator cost him half a finger)—his childhood gave him also

more than the normal share of pleasant experiences. He had his own horse and dog, and at the end of a schoolday he would ride off into the Berkshire Hills, a book in his pocket. For he read incessantly, largely under the influence of two spinster cousins of his father, who, though the family came from Irish gentry, talked so much to the boy about England, in the romantic strain then the fashion, that he steeped himself in English history and English novels. He was a senior in high school, studying Latin and Greek, when the family doctor recommended that he be sent to a less severe climate for the winter, and, as a result, he spent a year at the University of Georgia as a special student, returning in 1903 to graduate with his class in Pittsfield.

Again partly because of the milder Pennsylvania climate, Dickinson College was chosen for him. There he took old-fashioned standard subjects. Though Dickinson at that time had gone in mildly for the elective system in order to appear modern, the faculty cleverly scheduled all elective courses at the same hours, so that a student could choose but one a year. Pierce thoroughly approved of the device. The teacher whom he particularly remembers was Professor Cornelius W. Prettyman of the German Department, who communicated to young Butler his own interest in medieval German. After three years at Dickinson, Pierce received his A.B. degree in 1906.

The next year, having got the job by mail, he taught at the Locustdale Military Academy in Orange County, Virginia, a school which was trying to prepare boys for college entrance, mostly to the Virginia Military Institute. He had gone down expecting to teach Latin, Greek, and German, but he found himself assigned to teach mathematics and science, which he did. The school was in the country, eight miles from the nearest town and twelve from the nearest railroad, and the experience, he recalls, was like going back seventy-five years in history.

In 1907 Pierce Butler made a major decision. He decided that what he wanted to do in life was to teach medieval history. The influences of his spinster cousins, of his earlier reading, of his classical studies, and of Professor Prettyman had borne fruit. On the advice of Carleton J. H. Hayes he entered Union Theological Seminary, not to prepare for the ministry but to study under A. C. McGiffert and W. W. Rockwell and to learn medieval history and theology. During the two years he was at Union, he took purely academic subjects in the theological field—Hebrew, Greek, church history, and systematic theology. He supported himself by tutoring boys who had flunked out of preparatory schools and needed cramming for college. In 1909, after two years at Union, he transferred to Hartford Seminary, where he continued to read church history. He admits that the B.D. degree which he received in 1910 represented a rather unbalanced curriculum, for he had had few of the subjects usually taught to candidates for the ministry. Along with the degree, he was awarded the Turreton prize in medieval Latin and, for the next year, a graduate fellowship, the Jacobus Resident Fellowship, ample enough to enable him to live in comparative luxury and to buy books. In the same year, upon examination in German literature, he took an M.A. degree at Dickinson College. For two more years he remained at Hartford, working in an excellent library, studying under men whose standards were high, and commuting once weekly to Berkeley Seminary at Middletown to work under that fine classicist and theologian, Dean

Samuel Hart. The oral examination for his doctorate in church history (in 1912) was given by scholars brought in from Union, Harvard, and Yale; the subject of his dissertation was the "Christology of Iraenaeus."

Eminently qualified to teach, Butler found that no openings were available. Persuaded by Bishop Brewster of Connecticut and by Dean Hart that the church needed scholarly preaching, he took deacon's orders and was appointed to the staff of All Saints Cathedral, Indianapolis. There he was given parish work to do, which his deafness made impossible for him. After a year he resigned, came to Chicago, and, because he was in need of money, went to work in the claims department of the Burlington Railroad, where he remained for some eighteen months.

It was then that he decided to go into library work. He had had a taste of it as student-assistant at Union, and it was easy for him to get a part-time job in the library at the University of Illinois. He planned to take work in the library school there. But he never went. An old friend of the family telephoned W. N. C. Carleton of the Newberry Library, and Carleton, telling Butler that the only advantage he would get from library school was the "labor-union connection," offered him an immediate job in the Order Department. Thus began, in 1916, a connection with the Newberry which lasted until 1931. Soon after, when the head of the Order Department, Augustus Hunt Scherer, left to become librarian of the Grosvenor Library in Buffalo, Butler took his place. He instituted almost at once a systematic checking of bibliographies in order to find gaps in the Library's holdings. When the John M. Wing Foundation on the history of printing was set up, Butler became its first custodian and laid the plans for its future development. To him is due the chief credit for recommending, in its early stages, the shape that this collection, today among the most important in the country, should take. In 1922 he made the first of several trips to Europe to buy books for the Wing Collection and for the general library, for he remained head of the Order Department. In the unsettled conditions which prevailed abroad in the early 1920's, Butler, knowing exactly what he wanted, found it easy to pick up at bargain prices many of the incunabula and the outstanding reference works which still give to the Wing Collection its distinction in the field. There are yet bookdealers in Europe who remember his trips and the canniness with which he bought.

In 1927 the Graduate Library School was founded at the University of Chicago, and Butler was asked to give the first course there, on the history of printing. In 1931 he severed his long connection with the Newberry Library to devote full time to the Graduate Library School. The years at the Newberry had added practical experience in building scholarly collections to a mind already disciplined in one of the most exacting of scholarly studies. They had done more; in 1926 he married Ruth Lapham of the library staff, a scholar in her own right.

To his new post Butler brought what he regarded as a limited experience in librarianship. He knew the old Lenox Library under Wilberforce Eames, the Watkinson Library in Hartford, the Newberry, all of which might be called old-fashioned libraries in the European sense. Even the library which he had used as a high-school student at Pittsfield resembled these scholarly institutions, for its librarian, Harlan H. Ballard, who

published a two-volume translation of the *Aeneid* in blank verse, regarded adult education as an opportunity to acquire the old academic education, the basic disciplines, the informative studies of permanent content—classical literature, history, and natural history. Ballard and Eames had standards by which they measured the library's activities. As Butler went on in his teaching and thinking and writing, he came more and more to see that modern librarianship, as it was being taught, had no comparable standards; that the modern librarian, as he was fond of saying, looked for things that did not exist, did over jobs that had been well done before, and made preparations for the impossible. He set himself, therefore—and he considers this his most important work at the graduate school—to evolving and writing down a theory of library scholarship that was teachable and couched in broad terms. As he admits, he has sometimes preached with religious fervor the gospel of scholarship for librarians. Today, on the verge of retirement, he hopes that amid the ferment in the library world, a world no longer confined to a few countries, his ideas may provide inspiration and guidance for the next generation of librarians.

During his years at the university, Butler found time for further travel, in Central America and the Caribbean, in Mexico and in Europe. Such trips were not pleasure jaunts only; he continued to do research in fields that interested him, in London and Cambridge in 1936 on medieval libraries, and the following year in German and other continental cities on the vexed question of the origin of printing. In 1949 the U.S. Army sent him to Germany to make a survey of university libraries during the occupation.

Today, at sixty-five, he is as energetic, as omnivorous a reader, as good a companion, and as delightful a host as ever. At the Barnsted, the Butlers' farm in Michigan, additional buildings, built by their own hands, rise almost as rapidly as the pine trees with which they have covered the sandy acres, and those who are privileged to visit there will find that devotion to scholarly ideals, an endearing mixture of strong and tolerant opinions, and blue jeans go well together.

PIERCE BUTLER, PROFESSOR AND PRIEST

BERNARD IDDINGS BELL

MILDRED MCAFEE HORTON, sometime president of Wellesley College, said the other day that "academic freedom must leave an individual free to commit himself to such truth as he believes. The man who has found a faith for himself which can keep him steady and serene and unafraid makes an academic contribution which is harder for the unrooted man to make."[1] This true observation is illustrated by Pierce Butler. He is a great teacher and a free man, because he has an adequately centralizing spiritual commitment. He is a man of faith, faith in those ultimate values which bring order out of confusion in him who would observe the universe and help others sanely to observe it, faith in a God in whom those values subsist, faith in Jesus Christ as incarnation of those values and as translation of God into terms of human life and thought and speech.

His scholarly competence is unquestioned. He has vast knowledge, of which he never boasts, of the history of the communication of thought, especially of the function of the printed page in that communication. But those who have been his associates or his pupils have found in him that which is more than scholarly, that which has its appeal not alone from specialized learning but from something deeper. They have found in him a certain peace, a puckish gaiety unmarred by malice, an ability to go through inner distress without advertisement, a charity toward those with whom, from time to time or always, he is in disagreement. He is like a child, a learned child but still a child, never far from the Kingdom of Heaven. Because of the reliance on God which produces this childlikeness, he is no less a scholar, and because of it he is a greater, humbler, wiser man.

He does not talk overmuch about his faith. As he once expressed it in a letter to a friend: "When religion is relevant, in the classroom or anywhere else, I discuss it naturally and without any self-consciousness. Though I am a priest, I wear on campus the dress of a layman; but it is no secret that I appear vested as a priest and officiate as a priest in local Episcopal churches on Sundays; or that for some years I celebrated Holy Communion for Episcopalians in Hilton Chapel when there was no campus pastor for them at the university; or that afterward, now that a resident chaplain has been appointed, I frequently assist him as deacon in Bond Chapel; or that in Lent of 1945 I lectured on the quadrangles about 'The Hypotheses of Christianity' under the auspices of the local Canterbury Club. I have not concealed my religion, though equally I have never indecently exhibited it."

But throughout his laic career in library science, Pierce Butler has shown unmistakably his ecclesiastical background. The five years of rigorous drill in theological dialectic which he had in his young manhood established intellectual habits which are impossible to eradicate

[1] Amos Wilder (ed.), *Liberal Learning and Religion* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), p. 261.

and which he sees no necessity to try to eradicate. In every library problem, as indeed in all his thinking, his mind moves inevitably from the empirical to the theoretical. Induction and deduction are not, as he looks at things, mutually exclusive terms. He goes beyond process to function and from function to value, in the light of which *process* takes on meaning. This trend of thought shows itself clearly in the theory which he has worked out to explain the library.

"The library properly exists," Pierce Butler says, "like the press and the school, to serve scholarship, just as scholarship exists to serve culture, which exists to promote attainment of the ultimate human value—utility, justice, rationality." He starts with a purely secular institution and ends with an implicit theology, *according to which the secular institution is to be judged.* It is necessary, he maintains, that the library be properly subject to directional movement under a categorical imperative which cannot be explained away by any argument, naturalistic *or idealistic.* The library cannot properly be understood merely on the basis of the service it renders in terms of process or even of function. The library requires a theistic interpretation. Dr. Butler bases his whole library philosophy on this necessity.

Though it would seemingly be much easier for man to live and die as an animal, man simply will not behave that way. Instead, he strives in self-torment to fulfil what he is sure is a destiny other and more significant than that of the beasts, to attainment of an ever greater humanity. Why? Dr. Butler is persuaded, as are all Jews and Christians, that man does it "because the example of God's personality compels man's personality." The library is a device developed in this struggle toward a status not animal alone but truly human or, if you will, divine. "When the library supplies a person with literature, the immediate service, though valuable in itself, is secondary and incidental; the real purpose, the ultimate and long-term purpose, of the library is by innumerable repetitions of the incidental process to promote understanding, discrimination, prudence, to further in men an understanding of themselves and their fellows *in a cosmic perspective.*"

In seminary days at Hartford, Connecticut, young Mr. Butler had no notion either of pastoral work or of becoming a librarian. His one thought was to teach what was then his specialty, the history of Christian thought. Several of his friends advised him to take Holy Orders and preach. They said there was in America a lack of scholarly preachers to help lay-intellectuals. He decided that they were right and was ordained deacon in 1912 and placed on the Cathedral staff in Indianapolis. He had charge of young people's activities and occasionally officiated at some small mission or decomposing parish. Realizing that he was likely to get small opportunity to preach to mature and scholarly people by continuing in such a post and also recognizing that his deafness was increasing to a degree inconsistent with conventional pastoral labors, he moved to Chicago and entered upon librarianship, hoping that in this work, and by occasional preaching, he might be useful to the church. But the then bishop of Chicago, Charles Palmerston Anderson, a brilliant man but conventional in his concept of what a clergyman ought properly to do, was unsympathetic and would not advance him to the priesthood or use him in any ministerial capacity. Discouraged, young Pierce Butler resigned from the diaconate. This was in 1922.

Five years later, artificial hearing aids had been developed far enough to enable him to begin his long career as a teacher. Simultaneously, he sought restoration to the ministry. He was readmitted to the diaconate by Bishop George Craig Stewart, a more imaginative prelate than his predecessor. Dr. Butler became associate to the rector of St. Paul's Church, Kenwood, near the University of Chicago, and on December 18, 1940, was at last raised to the sacred priesthood. While a rector of St. Paul's was absent as a navy chaplain, Dr. Butler had charge of that large parish, handling it in addition to his university duties. After the war he took up residence near Paw Paw in Michigan (whence he commuted to the university) and was transferred to the Diocese of Western Michigan. There he now serves on Sundays in local emergencies under the bishop of that diocese.

As a theologian Dr. Butler has published only two treatises—one on *Church History and Psychology*, the other on *The Present Doctrinal Crisis;* but a simple and genuine godliness is visible, more than he knows, in almost everything that he has written on librarianship and related matters. He is always both priest and scholar. In his case, as in many others, though more frequently in Europe than in America, each profession fructifies the other. Perhaps that is the chief secret of his charm.

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY—SERVICES OR RESOURCES?

E. B. BARNES

THROUGH his years of teaching at the Graduate Library School, Dr. Butler has offered a number of courses under a variety of titles. But my present recollection of the several courses I attended is that their titles meant little: they might all have been called "Scholarship." In a pamphlet entitled "Scholarship and Civilization" he once developed a particular definition of this word, and each of his courses furthered this concept by means of repetition, emphasis, and perseverance. Dr. Butler wrote that "the ruling purpose of the library is the promotion of scholarship," and he has done his utmost to show that herein lies a true philosophy of librarianship: a base to which the welter of daily problems present in all kinds of libraries can be referred for meaningful answers.

A university library is limited no less than other types of libraries by the interests of the group it serves and by the support it receives. But it is a vital part of an institution dedicated to the promotion of scholarship, the demands of the group are broad (embracing investigation into almost all subjects), and its support, when compared to the income of other libraries, is substantial.

Most of our universities (and their libraries) must recognize three distinct groups and operate on three distinct levels of equal importance: the instruction of students, so that they may become intelligent and useful citizens; the preparation of future scholars; and definite contributions to knowledge by students and members of the faculty. These three groups are by no means disparate: each is closely related to the others, and each presents its own problems.

Our universities have recognized and dealt with the necessity of reconciling the needs represented by each group in a more or less satisfactory manner. But the university library, which most students must use to some extent, has not been so successful. This is not because the libraries have not sought answers to this problem. In recent years two promising approaches, for example, have been tried, and both have given rise to as many problems as they solved: departmental libraries with their greater convenience sacrifice the unity of knowledge, demand much duplication (and every additional copy of a title already in the library means that one new title cannot be purchased), and require more staff; the reserve bookroom is designed to satisfy the needs of undergraduate reading assignments, with considerable duplication, and has been successful to the extent that large numbers of students can be served. While it is recognized that the limitations of the physical plant must often reduce the discussion of theory to an absurdity, decisions are all too often made on the basis of expediency rather than for the promotion of scholarship. In general, the library has not found entirely adequate answers to satisfy its obligations.

At the present time our university libraries are devoted to bringing together the student and the needed book. The order department adds the book to the collection. The catalog department assigns it a proper place in the stacks and

makes it available through the public catalog. The circulation department accepts call slips and, in time, delivers the requested title (or a report). The reference department indicates where specific questions might be answered. And all librarians are expected to help students penetrate the mysteries of the card catalog. Each of these services makes its own contribution to the promotion of scholarship by helping to bring together the student and the needed book; yet is there not possibly a more direct method of furthering this objective?

The order department bears the responsibility of getting a work into the library collection. The resources of manuscript and printed materials needed by the students of a university are, and must be, without end. Scholarship represents the accumulated store of the past, and each student must have recourse to his particular segment of that store. There is no substitute for the actual presence of needed books and serials in the library. Interlibrary loans represent a form of charity that can be used only sparingly. Microfilm copies are troublesome to use and cannot be considered more than poor imitations of the actual titles. An extensive use of either of these mediums implies that the students should go elsewhere to do their work. All the services which a library can offer are of little importance if the resources are not present. The order department might easily and wisely spend the entire income of the university library. In fact, all money spent on service—on all other phases of the library machinery—must represent a reduction in the resources available in the collection. As a result, the university library must choose between services and resources.

This is the crux of our present problem. Traditionally, the university library has considered services and resources to be of equal importance. But financial crises must reduce the concept of service to a luxury: fundamentally, it is only by concentrating all available money on the purchase of printed and manuscript materials that a library is able to promote scholarship.

One of the implications of this statement is that the library should abandon its efforts to bring together the student and his particular book. Developed in somewhat more detail, the concrete suggestion is complicated only slightly: the titles are organized in the stacks by a definite scheme, and they are identified through the public catalog in a number of ways. Why not open the stacks to all students and reduce one step in the process of bringing together the student and the book?

This idea is by no means new. The University of Oregon Library has had open stacks for more than a year. The change removed what had been a very real barrier between the students and the books: the circulation desk. After looking up a title in the public catalog, anyone may now go directly to the shelf. If the specific title is not there, it is sometimes possible to discover a suitable substitute in the same area. More students have thus acquired a greater knowledge of the library's resources.

The effect of the new system on the library has been good. Although a general inventory has not been taken, spot-checking would seem to indicate that losses by theft have been about the same as before. There have been no complications from having large numbers of students in the stacks at one time. Financially, the difference has been slight, since the labor that was formerly spent paging books for waiting students is now used for reading shelves. The total effect of

this one case may be assessed as a definite contribution to scholarship, since service is greatly increased by having the books more readily available to a larger number of students.

Could not this same principle be followed in exploring other areas of library service? Instruction in the use of tools and the collection, the maintenance of an audio-visual section—are not these two activities strictly subsidiary to the purpose of a library? It may be quite true that they are closely related; but, basically, they are quite distinct from the main purpose of the university library.

Instruction is the business of the university. It is the business of the library to furnish materials to implement that instruction. The student has come to the university to learn many things, and one of those things should be the efficient use of the library. If, without detailed instruction, a student must fumble through the public catalog and spend hours doing what a trained librarian might do in minutes, that would seem to be only an essential part of the business of learning. For the library to assume the responsibility of instructing such students must represent an unwarranted charge against the budget.

Audio-visual aids (slides, recordings, and motion picture films) represent a vast and increasingly important field. They require trained personnel, complicated machines, and special techniques if they are to be used effectively. If such things are to be provided from library funds, there must be a corresponding decrease in the library's ability to add to its store of printed and manuscript materials.

The provision of readers' services and of audio-visual materials is important. But to require the university library to assume these services would be to dissipate the library's financial support rather than concentrate on its primary responsibility. Dr. Butler, in defining scholarship, has emphasized that it represents the true responsibility of the library as an institution. The librarian is trained to deal with scholarship primarily as it has appeared in printed form. The library building is constructed to deal with scholarship in its printed and manuscript forms. The output of past centuries and the production of today make it clear that these particular forms of scholarship will not soon be superseded. It is the responsibility of university librarians to implement Dr. Butler's definition by maintaining service at the lowest level, by investing all possible money in resources, and by refusing to support extraneous activities.

GERMAN LIBRARIANSHIP FROM AN AMERICAN ANGLE[1]

REDMOND A. BURKE, C.S.V.

WORLD WAR II completely transformed the library situation in Germany. Whereas this country was formerly one of the richest of the whole world in books, she is now one of the poorest. The total library destruction wrought by aerial bombardments can as yet be only roughly estimated. In the case of libraries approximate figures can be established because their original holdings were a matter of public record, but in the case of publishers and booksellers the loss can be only guessed at, for their inventories usually perished with their offices and warehouses. In general, however, these facts are certain: Over seven and one-half million out of fourteen million volumes in thirty-one scholarly libraries, and over twenty-two million volumes out of sixty-six million in the whole German library system, have been wiped out.[2] But all this tells only a part of the story, for the loss was unevenly distributed. Because rare and seldom-used books had been evacuated to safe places, the actual destruction of working collections was even larger than the figures indicate.

The loss of library buildings was equally great. Twelve scholarly libraries were completely destroyed, among them the university libraries at Münster, Würzburg, Munich, Bonn, Frankfort, Giessen, and Hamburg. The other five were the technical schools at Braunschweig, Charlottenburg, Karlsruhe, Munich, and Darmstadt. Three others, at Aachen, Hanover, and Stuttgart, were seriously damaged. Of the remaining university libraries, Göttingen and Kiel were hard hit, those at Freiburg and Cologne suffered less, and only four buildings, at Erlangen, Heidelberg, Marburg, and Tübingen, remained untouched. Most of these buildings, except those of Giessen, Munich, Würzburg, Münster, and Kiel, are well on the way to reconstruction. The technical libraries are still largely in a pitiful condition because they were primary targets of Allied bombings. However, Aachen and Hanover have been rebuilt, and the library collections at Braunschweig, Darmstadt, Karlsruhe, Charlottenburg, Munich, and Stuttgart have been transferred to other quarters. The temporary quarters are certainly not the most desirable or adequate for their important work, and the reading-room space is far below American standards.

Table 1, compiled from the latest available figures, will give some idea of the present status of scholarly libraries in Germany. Statistics are given for book losses, present book stock, periodical subscriptions (both German and foreign), seating capacity, and various aspects of use.[3]

[1] Much of the material in this paper was collected by the author during his visits to Germany since the close of hostilities, especially in 1949 and 1951.

[2] George Leyh, *Die deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken nach dem Krieg* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1947), and Hans Halm, *Die Schicksale der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek während des zweiten Weltkrieges* (Munich: C. Wolf & Son, 1949).

[3] Throughout this paper, the terms "national," "state," "city," "college," "technical," "commerce," and "university," as applied to libraries, are used, respectively, as functional equivalents of the German Staats-, Landes-, Stadt-, Gymnasial-, Technische, Commerz-, and Universitäts-[Bibliotheken].

TABLE 1

German Scholarly Libraries

Library	Book Losses	Present Book Stock	Current Periodicals: German	Current Periodicals: Foreign	Seating Capacity	Circulation: Home Use	Circulation: Borrowers	Use of Library: No. of Patrons	Use of Library: Daily Av.
Aachen									
Technical	52,297	71,032	252	163	42	28,344	....	....	....
Berlin									
National	....	1,500,000	5,951	1,456	298	....	....	....	....
Technical	....	70,000	290	218	42	....	....	....	....
Bonn									
University	200,000	550,000	467	346	277	34,552	4,336	12,484	44
Braunschweig									
Technical	10,000	130,461	240	135	25	21,089	1,090	....	....
Bremen									
State	150,000	164,306	288	32	....	43,243	28,748	....	....
Cologne									
National and university	3,500	757,952	1,080	680	180	87,689	3,558	28,998	248
Darmstadt									
State and technical	250,000–300,000	500,000	lost all		40?	14,784	7,669	....	....
Dortmund									
City	220,000	123,000	517	21	....	9,044	762	1,737	6
Dresden									
State	700,000	416	52	90	....	....	....	....	....
Technical	63,000	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
City	60,000	140	2	25	....	....	....	....	....
Erlangen									
University	None	495,000	375	339	120	79,499	27,468	108,824	366
Essen									
City	163,000	120,000	195	....	None	....	....	....	....
Frankfort									
City and university	585,000	643,000	604	303	120	7,259	1,582	....	....
Technical	6,000	375,000	350	1,350	60	16,338	9,362	4,476	16
Freiburg									
University	1,500	666,766	720	795	152	60,151	4,211	34,648	116
Giessen									
University	530,000	50,214	557	192	45	....	634	12,198	42
Göttingen									
National and university	62,000	971,050	1,400	600	183	166,956	4,675	64,220	218
Hamburg									
National	625,000	673,000	629	427	220	54,565	5,184	45,455	156
Hanover									
State	20,000	230,000	293	10	88	20,950	2,570	2,875	9
Heidelberg									
University	40,000	780,268	969	839	228	95,060	4,679	58,867	202
Hohenheim									
State	None	26,000	138	35	60	....	....	....	....
Karlsruhe									
State	362,000	117,266	461	40	30	12,983	1,670	....	....
Technical	110,000	100,000	250	120	36	9,998	5,756	1,594	5
Kassel									
State	400,000	85,000	212	11	....	3,823	2,497	311	31
Kiel									
University	250,000	375,000	1,050	950	100	16,917	1,479	22,033	72
Leipzig									
City	....	60,000	69	....	....	....	....	....	....
Mainz									
University	....	165,000	900	520	72	....	....	....	....

TABLE 1—*Continued*

Library	Book Losses	Present Book Stock	Current Periodicals		Seating Capacity	Circulation		Use of Library	
			German	Foreign		Home Use	Borrowers	No. of Patrons	Daily Av.
Mannheim National	15,000	195,000	109	7	....	7,705	898	....	....
Marburg University	35,000–40,000	450,272	450	338	196	84,319	3,546	22,397	76
Munich State	500,000	1,925,000	1,370	465	32	....	....	....	....
Munich University	150,000	650,000	444	264	80	12,500	2,000	22,420	75
Munich City	150,000	176,000	229	13	72	....	....	....	....
Münster University	400,000	550,000	500	280	202	22,297	2,566	10,393	37
Nuremberg City	100,000	250,000	80	5	....	....	....	....	....
Stuttgart State	447,000	594,000	427	146	84	....	....	....	....
Tübingen University	None	620,000	526	510	142	121,145	5,706	....	....
Würzburg University	370,000	100,000	....	....	25	15,031	....	8,951	30

The library task facing Germany today is to restore the old library system in so far as it is desirable and, likewise, to achieve new developments to meet conditions that had never previously existed. The postwar problem is not to restore the former library system but to build a new one as good under present conditions as the old one was in its period. Because of its former wealth in books, the old library system was vastly different from that of any other country. Ordinary books were easily available at small cost, so that extensive communal library collections of such materials were not needed. Professional scholars assembled large private libraries, and even today it is common for the older scholars to have personal libraries of from ten to twenty thousand volumes. Advanced students had access to the numerous seminar and institute libraries. Even the poor students could afford to buy almost any literary text or a manual on practically any subject in such series as "Reclams Universal-Bibliothek" or the "Sammlung Göschen." The secondhand book-dealers catered to the student trade by charging very low prices.

As a consequence, German libraries were generally storehouses of books too expensive, too rare, or too bulky for individual ownership. Previously, Germany had never developed anything like the American concept of the public library. The German public library (*Volksbücherei*) was intended primarily for the intellectual or economic proletariat. Whereas the German libraries developed in a tradition of book abundance, the American pattern developed in a tradition of book poverty. America was so new and its growth in territory and population so rapid that book production has only recently caught up with the tremendous expansion. Even today, volumes printed in America before 1850 are so few that they are regarded by many Americans as curiosities. Hence, an outstanding fact that any American visitor to Germany

will notice is the spectacular survival of their rare-book stock, while German libraries are still poverty-stricken in ordinary modern books.

In America, from the very outset, all available literature had to be used communally. This is one of the major causes of the development of the American public library system. As a consequence, even today many of us, although able to purchase any new titles we may wish to own, still go to the public library and borrow them. Germany today is in a state of book poverty similar to that which formerly prevailed in the United States, and one may reasonably expect that a similar development will be forthcoming there. The establishment of many commercial rental libraries in German towns and cities corresponds to a past phase in the American scene. Certainly in this respect German librarians might well study the evolution of the American library system, not perhaps so much for the imitation as for suggestions, since the new library developments must meet German rather than American conditions. But the chief problem is to make every available book accessible for group use, whether that group be one of neighbors, professional scholars, or students.

To one who has made several postwar visits to Germany it is apparent that there is more or less general agreement among German librarians that the library system must make new departures to meet the changed conditions of postwar book scarcity. This is particularly apparent in the desire for a more active public library pattern, a longing for an improved library school curriculum, and a recognition of the need for more library co-operation and integrated professional organization, such as have long existed in America and Britain.

PUBLIC LIBRARY PROGRAM

The public library movement in Germany has never been quite so successful as similar movements in England and the United States. Perhaps these countries owed their initiative to the financial support given by private benefactors. In any case, the development of the German public library has been a slow one, beset with many complications. The nineteenth century had ushered in an era of liberalism, in which various organizations for the public diffusion of knowledge among the lower classes took it upon themselves to found libraries supported by local, educational, musical, and religious organizations. The respected and wealthy middle class developed "association libraries," the existence of which formed a barrier to the establishment of any national plan for public library service.

The first public library to appear in Germany was established in 1828 in the small town of Grossenhain by a public official, Karl Preusker. Ten years later, Preusker published a book on the value of the public libraries.[4] The city of Berlin opened its first public library in 1841, after the historian Friedrich von Raumer visited the United States and was impressed with the use of the public libraries by the boatmen of the Mississippi River. He returned to Berlin and raised funds for a corresponding institution, which would promote adult education and public library service that would be available to everyone, including women. The public library movement received its greatest impetus, however, in the years from 1893 to 1905. Curiously enough, this was inspired by the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. Visitors

[4] Karl Preusker, *Über öffentliche, Vereins- und Privat-Bibliotheken* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1839–40).

were greatly impressed with the American public library system and returned to Germany with glowing accounts of it. A book appeared at the same time with an appraisal of the British developments and helped to promote German interest.[5] The plea for public libraries was based on the argument that free libraries would promote national prosperity, patriotism, and a better understanding of political problems. It is interesting to note that the first years of the twentieth century developed a division between two different concepts of public library service that continued until the advent of the Nazis in 1933. The traditional group under the leadership of Erwin Ackerknecht was chiefly concerned with developing a vast cultural net and catering to all popular taste, whereas the new party found a remarkable champion in Walter Hofmann, who emphasized the need for strictest selection of those cultural values that were to be transmitted. With the opening number of the periodical *Volksbildungs-Archiv* in 1909, Hofmann began a series of articles on the subject "The Organization of the Book Circulation in the Modern Cultural Library," which he continued until 1913. Book selection was regarded as the decisive intellectual responsibility of the library, and Hofmann frequently ridiculed the older school for assuming that the library patron could find his way about the world of books without guidance from a competent librarian. He believed that, instead of striving for huge circulation records, the library should emphasize the social and cultural role of the public library, and he advocated research in mass reading behavior. This led to new forms of cataloging and investigations of the reading habits of adults that were crystallized in his book on the reading of women.[6] He was a strict believer in closed book stacks and thought that everyone using the services of the public library should pay a nominal fee and that circulation of light reading was to be discouraged.

The two opposing groups were divided about equally in the support of the larger public libraries. Each had its own periodical: *Bücherei und Bildungspflege*, edited by Erwin Ackerknecht for the traditional party, and *Hefte für Büchereiwesen*, edited by Walter Hofmann for the new party. Hofmann's ideals gained considerable prominence when he established at Leipzig the German Central Board for Public Libraries (Zentralstelle für Volkstümliches Büchereiwesen), to which was attached a library and school.

Another stimulus for professional interest arose from the intellectual and emotional unrest of Germany during Hitler's regime. In the stress of political, economic, and social confusion[7] Hofmann developed the theory that the library's function was that of an impartial social agency working for the definition, clarification, and organization of ideas in the public mind, rather than for implanting or directing them. Whereas in other countries librarians have faced only the implication of a superficial censorship in the interests of common decency, the Germans were forced to consider the question in much more general and fundamental terms. This may easily become a permanent and beneficial addition to the general theory of librarianship.

Apparently, Hofmann gradually accepted the Nazi philosophy and was in-

[5] Ernst Schultze, *Freie öffentliche Bibliotheken, Volksbibliotheken und Lesehallen* (Stettin: Dannenberg, 1900).

[6] Walter Hofmann, *Die Lektüre der Frau: Ein Beitrag zur Leserkunde und zur Leserführung* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1931).

[7] Franz Schriewer, *Die deutsche Volksbücherei* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1939), p. 81.

fluential in making the party leaders realize that the public libraries could be shaped into a powerful tool for their purposes. The periodicals of the rival schools were absorbed into a new publication, *Die Bücherei*, and Ackerknecht was relieved of his post. This left Hofmann in control of the movement, but he too, apparently, fell from favor and was retired.

While the United States Information Centers have introduced an equivalent of the American bookmobile to provide service for outlying rural areas in Germany, the public library system of Munich prides itself on possessing possibly the only traveling mobile streetcar library (Städtische Wander-Bücherei München) in Europe. Since 1928 it has been traveling a regular daily route with stops at fixed times. It carries approximately five thousand books, ranging from current novels to standard reference works. The collection is constantly replenished with a varied supply of newer titles. A slight borrowing fee is charged. In this connection it is interesting to observe that more and more commercial rental libraries are appearing in the German cities and villages.

The postwar task of reorganizing the public library system was a most challenging one. The paralyzing influence of Nazi legislation had to be lifted, and the city of Hamburg assumed the leadership in a sincere effort to achieve new ideals based on the concept of making the books accessible to the patrons through open-shelf collections.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION CENTERS

An important challenge in the promotion of democratic ideals among the German people has been the initiation and development of the information centers operated by the United States Government.[8] Known to the Germans as *Amerika-Häuser* ("America Houses"), they were opened early in 1945 as examples of the American public library system. They are similar to the United States Information and Educational (USIE) programs in other countries. There are now some twenty-five of these centers, each operated by an American director; the collections range from twenty to thirty thousand books, and subscriptions are maintained to over five hundred American magazines and newspapers. Hundreds of thousands of readers have been reached with these books and educational programs. To reach the major rural areas, about a hundred and twenty-five reading-rooms have been strategically placed, and bookmobile service is provided to the outlying smaller villages and towns. With an increased fiscal budget, the centers were expanded to serve the French and British areas of occupation.

The book collection is representative of the American way of democracy and world culture. The *Amerika-Haus* library likewise attempts to bridge the gap of the Nazi regime by making available the titles that were banned by Hitler and the works that provide the Germans with an opportunity to keep in touch with the political, social, and cultural developments in other countries. Most of the books are written in English, but approximately 20 per cent of the total library stock are German translations of the more important titles.

A unique innovation for Germans is the use of the open-shelf collection, which permits the patrons to browse freely among the books and to choose for themselves the titles to be taken home. In

[8] Henry P. Pilgert, *History of the Development of Information Services through Information Centers and Documentary Films* (Historical Division, Office of the United States Commissioner for Germany, 1951).

addition, each center has an extensive audio-visual program and a carefully planned series of lectures. American experts visiting in Germany have co-operated in presenting lectures on current political, cultural, and economic questions. Germans who have visited the United States under the sponsorship of the Department of State are invited to lecture and to participate in public forums and round-table conferences. It is expected that the idea of open-shelf collections, public forums, and group discussions will greatly aid in developing a truly democratic conception of free speech and a tolerance for differences of opinion on current political, economic, and social issues.

There are many other interesting features in the *Amerika-Haus* program and its expansion throughout the entire western part of the country. But our concern here is mainly with the libraries and reading-rooms. In fact, it was realized by the American leaders that the libraries would be the basic tool in the accomplishment of their purposes in establishing the centers. A library school to train German employees of these centers has been in operation at the *Amerika-Haus* in Erlangen. The staff of teachers attempts to train these people in the organization and administration of an American public library and its services. Unfortunately, this school has no relationship to the German library school at the University of Erlangen, which is directed by Dr. Redenbacher. As far as can be determined, there has been no exchange of American library-school teachers to aid in the formulation of an ideal school. Certainly library service should be administered by professionally trained personnel, whose preparation is adequate to the importance of their responsibilities.

The information centers have provided a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate the progress and spirit of American democracy. The idea of the centers is an admirable step forward, but at times it has encouraged activities that tend in the opposite direction. The problem of space allocation in buildings has been most acute, in view of the great destruction of German cities. But the requisition of space for information centers at the expense of German libraries has been most deplorable. At Munich, the famed Bavarian State Library was forced to surrender its provisional space in the former Führerbau to make room for the establishment of an *Amerika-Haus*. This completely paralyzed the facilities of what is by far the most scholarly library in the western part of Germany. This was particularly serious, as it left approximately twenty thousand students and faculty at the University of Munich with a critical shortage of books and with little opportunity for formal study beyond the classroom, as the other city and university libraries were heavily damaged.

While much in the program is commendable, innumerable situations exist that appear to stem from the failure to understand the educational pattern of Germany as well as to formulate, under competent professional advice, a comprehensive and long-range library program. Much of this weakness is due, perhaps, to the scarcity of professional librarians on the American staff. Germany presented a challenging opportunity for the development of an American public library pattern of service. Certainly weighty consideration should have been given to the idea of establishing information centers as an integral part of both university and public libraries and of housing them together.

As they now exist, they must continue to operate mainly as a propaganda agen-

cy for democracy, wholly supported by American funds and with limited and distant influence on the future pattern of German librarianship. An effective library is basically an educational institution and, as such, should not give the impression of a mere weapon of propaganda. Even today, the full effectiveness of the *Amerika-Häuser* libraries has been hampered considerably because many intelligent Germans are highly suspicious of their purposes. Records of enormous circulation of books may impress some, but American public librarians have long ago realized the inherent danger of quantitative statistics, as opposed to the qualitative standards implied in the idea of the public library as a people's university. The question must be raised: To what extent should these centers duplicate the work that German agencies already in existence have been established to carry on?[9] Surely the entire program could be re-examined and appraised by library experts in order to eliminate unnecessary duplication of effort and to develop closer co-operation with German public and university libraries. But the fact remains that, when amateurs in librarianship make momentous decisions, those decisions will often be ill-advised and sometimes disastrous in the formulation of a sensible long-range program.

EDUCATION FOR LIBRARIANSHIP

German librarianship has been shaped largely by the fact that it has been subject to a civil service system. As a result, the general requirements for admission to a library school are somewhat comparable to the prerequisites for secondary-school (*Gymnasium*) teaching. The first state to initiate uniform regulations was Prussia, in 1893. Most of the other states followed with plans based more or less on the Prussian model. New formulations of these regulations were issued from time to time, but a comparison of the documents reveals no revolutionary changes, although there is definite evidence that the ideal of the public library had exerted some influence. But in 1938 a Nazi ministerial order instituted a uniform system of regulations for all Germany, known as "einheitlichte Verordnung für den Bibliotheksdienst." Two years later an amendment was made to certify library-school graduates known as the "higher intermediate group" (*gehobener Dienst*). All the regulations were continued after World War II, with the deletion of the Nazi political and racial requirements.

These regulations imply that the library functions are relative to the structure of society at large, and, in general terms, their pattern of librarianship is a stratification in a threefold class system. This includes the "superior service" (*höherer Dienst*), the "higher intermediate service" (*gehobener Dienst*), and a third group of staff workers who perform clerical routines as stenographers, stack attendants, secretaries, and bookbinders.

Superior service.—The superior service is conceived as that of leaders in the profession, who study, plan, explore, and administer the libraries. The candidates are required to have a doctorate in a subject field, followed by one or two years of library-school training. A period of internship at one of the larger libraries is also required before the candidate is fully accepted as a trained librarian. From the more successful candidates in this group are selected the directors of the libraries. During the earlier part of the century it was customary to select a scholarly pro-

[9] The United States Information and Educational Libraries in Germany are critically different from those under the normal plan of the world-wide program. Naturally, this must have a direct bearing on any appraisal of the effectiveness of the program in Germany today.

fessor as head librarian, and little consideration was given to any professional qualifications for the task. Frequently, the administration of the libraries suffered because the appointees preferred to devote most of their time to their uncompleted scholarly projects in a particular subject field. Most members of the superior service, as listed in the "Register of Professional Officials" in the *Jahrbuch*, have studied in the field of the humanities. It is interesting to observe that the German Library Association (Verein Deutscher Bibliothekare) was originally a division of the German Philological Association. As in the United States, the present trend in Germany is for a librarian to realize that his primary obligation is to the library profession. This attitude is particularly noticeable in such leaders as Karl J. Hartmann at Göttingen, Hermann Corsten at Cologne, Gustav Hofmann at Munich, Wilhelm Hoffmann at Tübingen, Fritz Redenbacher at Erlangen, and Martin Cremer at Marburg.

The successful candidates for the higher service are eligible to become librarians or heads of departments, or to develop into experts in book selection in the different fields of knowledge. Some, like Carl Wehmer, have made notable contributions in the compilation of bibliographies or in incunabula studies. Often they also hold some professorial rank at the university.

The choice and selection of books in an American university is left largely to the discretion of the faculty. This method has both advantages and disadvantages. An enthusiastic professor may order titles almost exclusively in his own field of specialization, and the result may be an uneven collection with amazing lacunae. In Germany the tradition has been quite different. There even the university library, like the great public reference libraries in this country, has developed a systematic program of book acquisition, wherein staff members among the higher service assume responsibility for selecting titles in the different fields of study. As a consequence, their prewar collections were of a uniformly high standard.

Higher intermediate service.—Candidates for the higher intermediate grade (*mittler* or *gehobener Dienst*) must be graduates of the *Gymnasium*, which is roughly equivalent to our better junior colleges. Their responsibilities are not thought to require a doctoral degree, because they work only as catalogers and as circulation, periodical, and reference librarians. Accordingly, they are required to attend a library school for a period of approximately two years, in order to master the technical library processes.

Lower service.—The lowest level of service does not require any formal training and is somewhat similar to clerical help. These workers perform routine tasks as typists, stack attendants, and bookbinders. It is customary to reserve these subordinate posts for war veterans who have some physical handicap.

Library schools and training.—The curriculum of the library school is prescribed by the civil service laws governing librarianship. For both grades of service it includes theoretical as well as practical studies. Among the courses prescribed are history of language, writing, culture and scholarship, paleography, care of manuscripts, bibliography, and library administration and legislation. Regional library schools have been established to provide this training. There are six library schools in operation, all affiliated with universities: Hamburg (begun in 1946), Heidelberg (superior service), Karlsruhe (intermediate service),

Tübingen, Cologne (begun in 1949), Frankfort, and Erlangen (begun in 1950). The year of interneship is usually spent at one of the larger scholarly libraries, such as those at Frankfort, Mainz, Speyer, and Trier, the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, and the Niedersächsische Bibliothek at Göttingen. The new school of librarianship established at the University of Cologne under the leadership of Dr. Hermann Corsten avowedly imitates American practices and ideals. It has adopted a practical curriculum approximating the American pattern in its emphasis on public service and population coverage, although no member of the faculty has a firsthand knowledge of these matters.

The library school at Hamburg indicates a marked departure from the standard library training, for it requires students to spend one semester of interneship at a public library in order to understand the democratic basis of the public library in society. The student registration at all schools is rather small, for the many refugee librarians from the Eastern zone fill the few library appointments that can be provided. There are a well-developed number of church-supported libraries in Germany. For the higher intermediate service among Catholic libraries there is a library school at Bonn under the auspices of the Catholic Borromeo Library Association (Borromäusverein), and for Protestant libraries there is a Lutheran library school at Göttingen.

The desire for an improved library-school curriculum is well exemplified in the recent publication of the following list of projected courses:[10]

Library Administration
Development of Public Libraries and of Librarianship
Education
Political Science
History of the Printed Book
Library Science (by Subject)
Theory of Scholarship
Literature: Native and Foreign
Cataloging
Bibliography

LIBRARY ASSOCIATIONS

In Germany there has long been a tendency to draw a sharp distinction between scholarly libraries (*wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken*) and those of a more popular nature, the public libraries (*öffentliche Büchereien*). As a result of this distinction, German librarians have been organized into two separate associations, the Verein Deutscher Bibliothekare ("Association of German Librarians") for the scholarly librarians and the Verein Deutscher Volks-Bibliothekare ("Association of German Public Librarians") for the public library group.

The scholarly librarians banded together for the first time in June, 1900, at Marburg. An important part of their contribution to librarianship consisted of co-operative projects, including that of the Union Catalog of Prussian Libraries (*Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Bibliotheken*), and the continual promotion of standardized library regulations in the various states comprising Germany. They issued a yearbook (*Jahrbuch der deutschen Bibliotheken*) up to the year 1943 and resumed its publication in May, 1950, under the editorship of Gustav Hofmann and H. Middendorf. As the occupying powers forbade the reorganization of associations on a national basis, this group was restored at first only as a Bavarian association, in which the librarians of other zones had the privilege

[10] "Ausbildungs- und Prüfungsordnung für den Dienst an volkstümlichen Büchereien in Rheinland-Pfalz, *Bücherei und Bildung*, II, No. 11 (November, 1950), 1072–73.

of participating. The first postwar meeting was at Hanover in 1948, at Rothenburg ob der Tauber and Erlangen in 1949, at Marburg in 1950, and at Münster in 1951.

The association resumed full membership in the International Federation of Library Associations in 1949 and, since October of the same year, has been publishing a small monthly bulletin, *Nachrichten für wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken* ("Research Library News"). However, it will hardly come up to the stature of the *Zentralblatt für das Bibliothekswesen*, which is published in the Russian zone.

The German plan of cataloging and classification is quite different from the American concept in which the average catalog is a dictionary catalog, with author, title, and subject headings in one alphabetical arrangement. In German libraries the catalog is divided into two or more parts. The first section is an alphabetical list of all author and title entries, where the titles are according to key words, as compared to the American system of word for word or letter for letter. The second part is a subject catalog, which is known variously as *Schlagwortkatalog*, *Stichwortkatalog*, or *Sachkatalog*. In many libraries additional separate catalogs exist for biographies, dissertations, and special collections, but these vary in importance and arrangement in each library. In addition, scholarly libraries have developed their own classification scheme, the so-called "systematic" catalog, and there has been no attempt at standardization since each library prides itself on the superiority of its own plan. In fact, highly trained librarians spend considerable time on these individualistic classification systems, whereas the American library system has adopted the Library of Congress printed title cards.

During the afore-mentioned joint sessions there was apparent agreement among German librarians as to the need for closer professional relations among all library organizations and for future joint meetings such as have long existed in America and Britain. It was also agreed that there should be co-operation through an exchange of books between the scholarly and the public libraries.

Many Americans have been crusading for open-shelf collections in German libraries. This may be an excellent plan for a small public or scholarly library, but it is both inadvisable and impractical in the larger scholarly libraries with their archaic classification methods.

American libraries follow the Library of Congress or the Dewey classification plan, and, through the distribution of printed library cards, save much time by using a standard classification. Most German libraries likewise employ a systematic plan arranged according to the particular library, and each regards its plan as superior to all others. But, since the war, budget restrictions have forced most libraries to suspend continuation of their classification plans as too expensive and time-consuming. At the joint library conference in 1951,[11] several German librarians proposed that a uniform classification scheme be adopted. After considerable discussion it was agreed that the problem was too complicated for an immediate solution. However, much encouragement was given to the proposed plans for developing a standard list of subject headings.

THE GERMAN "FARMINGTON PLAN"[12]

Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft.—The central interzonal agency

[11] "Kongress der deutschen Bibliothekare . . . in Münster," *Bücherei und Bildung*, III, No. 6 (June–July, 1951), 523–30.

[12] Most of the information in this section was taken from the following sources: *Bericht der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft* (Bad

TABLE 2

ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECT FIELDS TO GERMAN LIBRARIES

Subject	Library
General field of religion	Marburg University
Theology	Tübingen University
Law	Göttingen University State
Economic and social sciences	Cologne University
Medicine	Cologne University
Philosophy, psychology, and education	Erlangen University
Ancient and Oriental civilizations	
Prehistory	Munich State
Ancient history	Munich State
Classical archeology	Heidelberg University
Egyptology	Tübingen University
Near East, general orientalia	Tübingen University
Indology	Tübingen University
Far East	Marburg West German
Modern philology and European-American civilization	
Linguistics, comparative philology, and literary history	Frankfort University State
Germanic languages, literatures, and civilizations	
Germany, Austria (except history)	Frankfort University State
Scandinavia (except Finland)	Kiel University
Sweden	Hamburg University State
Netherlands, South Africa	Münster University
Switzerland	Freiburg University
England	Göttingen University State
U.S.A., Canada	Göttingen University State
Romance languages, literatures, and civilizations	
France	Bonn University
Italy	Bonn University
Belgium, Luxembourg	Cologne University
Spain	Hamburg University State
Portugal	Hamburg University
Latin America	Hamburg University State
Rumania	Munich State
Slavic languages, literatures, and civilizations	
Slavica (Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Balkans)	Munich University
Finno-Ugric languages, literatures, and civilizations	
Finno-Ugric culture	Göttingen University State
History	Munich State
Fine arts	Heidelberg University
Music	Munich State
Ethnology and native languages	Frankfort University State

TABLE 2—*Continued*

Subject	Library
Natural sciences	
Natural sciences in general	Göttingen University State
Biology	Frankfort Senckenbergische
Botany	Frankfort Senckenbergische
Zoölogy	Frankfort Senckenbergische
Geology and mineralogy	Göttingen University State
Geography	Frankfort University State
Chemistry	
Pure chemistry	Göttingen University State
Applied chemistry	Darmstadt Technical
Fuel chemistry	Karlsruhe Technical
Pharmacy	Braunschweig Technical
Physics	
Pure physics (astronomy, meteorology)	Göttingen University State
Applied physics	Munich Technical
Scientific instruments, mechanics	Stuttgart Technical
Textile industry	Aachen Technical
Mathematics	
Pure mathematics	Göttingen University State
Applied mathematics	Berlin University Technical
General technology and engineering	
General engineering	Hanover Technical
Patents, weights, measures, standards	Hanover Technical
Materials and their testing	Stuttgart Technical
Architecture	
Architecture, city planning	Hanover Technical
Construction engineering	Darmstadt Technical
Machine technology	
General machine design (Maschinentechnik)	Darmstadt Technical
Chemical instruments and techniques	Karlsruhe Technical
Automobiles and auto engines	Stuttgart Technical
Ship-building and navigation	Hamburg University State
Fluid mechanics (Strömungstechnik)	Aachen Technical
Electro-engineering	
Electro-engineering, high power	Darmstadt Technical
High frequency, telegraphy, telephony	Munich Technical
Mining and surveying	Clausthal Technical
Smelting	Aachen Technical
Agriculture	
Agriculture	Bonn University
Horticulture, viniculture	Hanover Technical
Veterinary medicine	Hanover Technical
Forestry	Göttingen University State
General bibliography, book trade, librarianship, universities, and press	Göttingen University

for the development of scholarly research is known as the Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft ("Emergency Association for German Scholarship"). The Notgemeinschaft was established in November, 1949, and is based upon the pattern of a similar organization that was initiated in 1920 by Friedrich Schmidt-Ott. Both associations were founded to promote German scholarship and research during the critical postwar years. The present Notgemeinschaft is sponsored by governmental agencies as well as private sources. Funds are allocated to support scholarly research projects, to underwrite the publication of the investigations, to provide funds to purchase and loan to scholars expensive laboratory equipment, to make grants to aid young scholars, and to procure all basic foreign literature. A most important advisory group is that of the so-called Fachausschüsse ("special field committees"), covering twenty-six areas of research, which are again divided into 171 subjects, each of which is represented by two scholars. These scholars are elected to office by secret ballot by the entire corps of German scholars. All individual applications for grants, as well as general projects, are decided by them.

The Library Committee.—The Library Committee (Bibliotheksausschuss) of the Notgemeinschaft includes the outstanding librarians and scholars in western Germany. One of their most significant contributions has been the creation, in April, 1949, of the Tausch- und Beschaffungsstelle für ausländische Literatur ("Exchange and Procurement Bureau for Foreign Literature"). Under the direction of Dr. Gisela von Busse, who received her previous experience in the earlier Notgemeinschaft, is a corps of trained library experts to carry out the objectives of the bureau. It acts as a central clearing agency on the acquisition of foreign works and prevents the unnecessary duplication of effort by participating libraries. It serves as a central point for German library co-operation in the problem of the postwar acquisition of wartime and current foreign literature. This modification of the American Farmington Plan endeavors to act as a clearing-house for the selection of titles to be held in those universities where special institutes or seminars have been in operation. There are twenty-six general fields, with sixty-nine subdivisions that represent subject-field institutes or seminars in operation at the universities. While the Farmington Plan has the commercial agency (usually a bookseller) select the desirable books and ship them to the American library responsible for the particular field, the German program requires the particular library staff to make the choice and selection of titles, and the Notgemeinschaft pays for the cost. It is assumed that the subject-field experts at the different universities will make an intelligent and reliable choice of materials. Table 2 lists the assignment of special fields to specific German libraries.

The present writer often remembers Pierce Butler saying in the classroom that a student of human nature can best approach the experimental method through history. This principle is certainly true in the case of German librarianship today. Here a people of a temperament and tradition entirely different from ours is reacting to the stimulus of book poverty in approximately the same way as did Americans nearly a century earlier.

Godesberg, 1951) and Peter Scheibert (ed.), "Lage und Erfordernisse der westdeutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken (MS; Bad Godesberg, 1951).

THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF PARIS

LEON CARNOVSKY

The great libraries of Paris—the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Arsenal, the Mazarin, the Sainte-Geneviève, and the complex of libraries which together make up the libraries of the University of Paris—have been so often and so fully described that their general organization and resources are well known to the academic and scholarly world. Not so the lesser libraries, the quite considerable number of special collections and popular libraries scattered throughout the city and recently described in summary but useful fashion in the publication entitled *Bibliothèques de Paris*, prepared jointly by UNESCO and La Direction de Services des Bibliothèques de France (1950). In this article I shall undertake to present a somewhat more elaborate description of the system of public, or popular, libraries.

The public libraries of Paris (and of the Department of the Seine), unlike the other public libraries of France, which are under state supervision, are administered by the Prefecture of the Seine, and their support comes completely from local sources. Their personnel, too, are subject to local, not state, regulations. Each of the twenty *arrondissements* ("wards" or "districts") of Paris has its own library, usually located in the *mairie* ("town hall"); in addition, all but one have at least one small collection, normally located in a school building. Presiding over the whole system is an inspector-general, whose office prescribes rules of procedure and carries out the general functions of a library central administration. In a sense it may be said that the Paris system consists of twenty main branches without a central library, each branch designed to serve exclusively the residents of its own district. There is no central public library for the city as a whole.

Before 1870 only two municipal libraries were available to the public. The first one opened in 1865 with a stock of 800 books, its use confined to reading on the premises and to men only. Its hours of access were limited to the evening period between eight and ten o'clock, except on Sunday, when it was closed. Four years later a second library was opened, the gift of a postal clerk of his personal library on condition that he be named librarian; funds for its support were voted by the Municipal Council (this library was later transferred from a shop to the *mairie*).

During the 1870's there was a steady increase in local libraries, and by the end of the decade about half the *arrondissements* of Paris had their own. Some permitted only reading within the library itself, and at least two were opened for home loan only; for the most part they gave both types of service. All were quite independent of one another, and only the fact that the Municipal Council voted funds for their support constituted anything approaching a central control. There was no consistency in organization or operation or public service. As far as one may determine, their use was relatively insignificant; and in 1878, the first year for which records are available, the

total number of loans was less than thirty thousand.

In 1878, however, an important change took place. For the first time a central library inspectorate was established, and, as noted above, it retains today the supervision of all municipal libraries in the city. By 1950 there were no less than 74 library installations, divided as follows: 20 central libraries, located in the *mairies* or in adjoining buildings; 49 small collections, all but one in school buildings; 2 libraries for children exclusively; and 3 special libraries. Except for two of the special libraries,[1] all lend books for home use. A measure of their activity is indicated by loan statistics: in 1951 the total reached 2,740,408. The high point was achieved in 1944 with a circulation of 2,941,753. Apparently, library use increased generally in France, certainly in Paris, throughout the war years; in some cases the number of readers doubled. According to the annual report of the inspector-general for 1949, the increases reflected such conditions as difficulties of travel under the occupation and the distaste for newspapers and radio programs keyed primarily to propaganda purposes; it was inevitable that a reaction should set in, once the causes of this intensified library use were removed.

The greater part of the circulation, about two-thirds, consists of fiction. A maximum of two books, only one of which may be fiction, may be borrowed at one time. The loan period is three weeks, and renewals are permitted. The fine for overdue books is one franc a day, about one-third of a cent. Loans are made only to residents or workers in the *arrondissements* in which the library is located. The libraries do not maintain the schedule of long hours which one is accustomed to find in American libraries; even the strongest central libraries are open only thirty-eight hours a week, and the school libraries only seven hours (two evenings and Sunday morning).

Book selection is a function of the individual librarians; however, their choices are subject to review by the inspector-general. Approximately 32 million francs (about $91,500) have been allocated for book purchase in 1952, but this amount must also cover periodical subscriptions and binding. The latter item is a particularly serious one, because most French books are paper-bound, and the fact that such books are cheaper is only partial compensation for the cost of binding.

The Decimal system is employed in all libraries, as well as a common system of cataloging. Each library does its own cataloging, and for its guidance a printed manual is available explaining in elementary form the major aspects of the classification system and also describing in detail the processes of author and subject cataloging. The card catalog is standard in all libraries; it is divided between author and subject entries, though the subject catalog is really little more than a somewhat more elaborate shelflist.

As far as one may judge from registration statistics, the majority of the library patrons consists of students, but library use is by no means confined to this group. One finds a liberal sprinkling of professional men and elderly retired persons; but, unlike the situation in American libraries, the proportion of women is not large. This difference is probably due to many things, among them the greater amount of leisure which American women enjoy and the stimulation of the

[1] One of these exceptions is the Bibliothèque Marguerite-Durand, located in the *mairie* of the fifth *arrondissement*. It consists of works on women and feminism. The other is the Bibliothèque des arts graphiques, in the fourteenth *arrondissement;* it is devoted to typography, printing, binding, etc.

women's clubs, which, though not absent in Paris, are not nearly so numerous as they are in America. In general, as may be expected, the nature of the *arrondissement* conditions the type of reader in each library. Thus, the seventh *arrondissement*, where the military school and the Invalides are located, has a strong representation of soldiers; the sixth and eighteenth, with large artist colonies, of art students; and the nineteenth and twentieth are well represented by manual workers. Reading, where it transcends professional and technical interests, is concentrated on fiction of the French classical and modern schools, translations of English and American novels, travel, history, and biography. Whether more liberal provision of books in science, technology, and social science would be reflected in greater use of such materials is a moot question. There certainly seems to be little articulate demand for such books, and probably the minority who want them either buy them or depend on the great national libraries.

At the same time, it is interesting to note that demand is not the sole criterion of book-selection. Books on the fine arts are strongly emphasized; one finds handsome art volumes in all the libraries, and the librarians are encouraged to provide books with good reproductions of paintings, photographs of cathedrals and monuments, etc. In a sense it is true that provision of books of this type itself represents a response to a demand, even though it be by a relatively small number. On the other hand, practically no attempt is made to provide books of purely ephemeral quality; one simply does not find mystery stories and the like in the Paris public libraries. This restriction is motivated by a policy, generally agreed to by all the librarians, that high literary standards should be observed in book-provision and, furthermore, by the decision that, since the limited funds available make a choice necessary, that choice will be exercised on the side of the better rather than the more popular. As noted above, book orders must be approved by the inspector-general. Occasionally the librarians may be overruled, but in general their choices prevail. Only in cases of patent pornography, blatant political propaganda, and works considered too highly specialized is the veto exercised. It must be emphasized, however, that the inspector-general and the librarians are in such close agreement on book-selection policy that the review of book orders is largely perfunctory.

For a long time efforts have been under way to raise the standards of library personnel; action has recently been taken which will insure this. In 1952 and thereafter all newly appointed head librarians must hold the *license* in literature (received upon graduation from a university) as well as a librarian's technical diploma awarded by the state. One may prepare for the library examination by taking a year's course at the École des Chartes or at the Institut Catholique. The assistant librarian (*bibliothécaire adjoint*) must have a baccalaureate or the "brevet supérieur." (Both degrees are conferred after graduation from a college or *lycée;* the baccalaureate requires Latin or Greek and is essential if one is to go on to the university. The "brevet supérieur," though signalizing completion of a period of general education, represents less thorough training than the baccalaureate and does not entitle its holders to enter the university.)

Children's work remains in the early stages of development. One finds separate quarters for children in few of the libraries, and even the libraries in the schools are open only seven hours a week

(their collections, always quite small, are available to adults and children alike). There are, however, two libraries, located in their own buildings, exclusively for children. The larger one, in the heart of the Latin Quarter, is the well-known L'Heure Joyeuse. This library originally was the gift of a group of American women known as the Book Committee on Children's Libraries, organized to aid in educational reconstruction immediately following World War I. Libraries were offered to Belgium and France on condition that the host country provide quarters and agree to maintain operation at its own expense after the first year. The committee provided furniture and equipment, as well as funds for purchase of two thousand books and for library maintenance during one year. It also arranged for the training of three children's librarians. The library was dedicated on November 12, 1924, and has functioned continuously since then. Although it is patronized most heavily by the children of the immediate *arrondissement*, unlike the libraries in the town halls, it is open to children up to the age of sixteen living anywhere.

In operation the library resembles the better children's departments in American institutions. The books are classified (Dewey), the cards in the dictionary catalog carry annotations which frequently go beyond the merely bibliographic and tell what the book is about, and lessons are provided on the use of the library. Typical annotations, appearing on both author and subject cards, are the following:

Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans:* "Où il est question d'une tribu d'Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord et de la lutte entre les Peaux-Rouges et les Visages-Pâles."

Maeterlinck's *Life of the Bee:* "Ce livre ne s'adresse pas à ceux qui désirent élever des abeilles, mais à ceux qui veulent connaître 'tout ce qu'on sait de certain, de curieux, de profond et d'intime sur les habitants' de la ruche."

Each child, on registering, signs his name in a book bearing the following inscription, which he must read aloud: "En écrivant mon nom dans ce livre je deviens membre de L'Heure Joyeuse, et promets de prendre soin des livres et d'aider les bibliothécaires à rendre notre bibliothèque agréable et utile à tous." He is then given a registration card with detailed information about his privileges. A record is kept of each child's withdrawals, and this is used as a basis for reader guidance. The weekly story hour, oral readings, displays of children's artwork, and similar aspects of children's library work are features at L'Heure Joyeuse—certainly unique in Paris and perhaps in all of France. Throughout its entire history the director, Mlle Gruny, has maintained high standards of book-selection, and the result is a library of diversified and qualitatively superior books. The library, incidentally, serves as a training ground and laboratory for about twenty-five students annually who plan to follow children's work as a career or to enter some phase of social service with emphasis on work with children.

The second library exclusively for children is located in the twentieth *arrondissement*. It is smaller than L'Heure Joyeuse and more restricted in its use, being open only on Thursday morning and afternoon (the one weekday when the schools are closed) and on other weekdays from 1:30 to 6:00. Its readers must live in the immediate *arrondissement*.

Of particular interest, because of its origins, is the library (rue Fessart) which serves the nineteenth and twentieth *arrondissements*. It was established in 1922 by the American Committee for Devastated France, which took over a

collection of books in a school, organized and added to them, and set them up in a separate but temporary building. In 1933 the city replaced this building by a modern structure, and the library has been highly successful. It serves adults and children alike.

The major emphasis in the book collections of the municipal libraries falls on fiction, belles-lettres, history, biography, and travel. Science, technology, and even social science are poorly represented. The only library in the system which emphasizes applied arts and trades is the Bibliothèque Municipale d'Art et d'Industrie Forney. This library was established through a legacy of 200,000 francs left to the city by an industrialist, Aimé-Samuel Forney, and was opened in 1886. The purpose of the library was "to complete the technical education of workers, to develop and improve the taste of industrial workers, to make possible the co-operation of manufacturers, tradesmen, and artists through documentation and appropriate instruction." Although Forney's will did not mention a library specifically or any other means of putting his plan into effect, the Municipal Council authorized the establishment of a library to carry out his purpose.

The library has undergone a steady process of growth and expansion, and today it owns some forty thousand books and two hundred and fifty thousand plates, models, designs, and the like. It subscribes to seventy-five periodicals. There is a printed catalog, itself a valuable bibliography on the applied arts, as well as a supplementary catalog on cards.

Since the Forney library is unique in Paris, its patrons come from all parts of the city as well as the suburbs. Essentially, they are of three kinds: the technical worker specializing in one of the skilled trades, the student in a technical school, and the engineer devoid of other library facilities. On the whole, the patrons are little versed in library utilization, and their visit to the Forney is likely to be their first contact with any library; however, they do use it heavily, especially the students, who are frequently brought directly to the library by their instructors.

At times, the proposal has been made that a central public library be established, of which the present municipal libraries would be branches. Although theoretically an attractive prospect, it is difficult to contemplate its realization in the predictable future. Certainly, there does not seem to be the slightest popular demand for such an institution, and in the light of the present French financial situation one must be visionary indeed to regard its possibility seriously. The decentralized nature of Paris administration, with the emphasis on the *arrondissements*, makes the prospect of a central municipal library unlikely. It is worth remembering in this connection that the great Paris institutions—the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Louvre, the Opéra, the Sorbonne, etc.—are all national rather than strictly local monuments.

Far better than a single central library would be improvements in existing libraries. Even though the ideal of a separate building for each is not likely to be achieved soon, much can be done to make them more comfortable and better stocked. Successful as the two separate children's libraries have been, only a few of the branches provide separate facilities for children; indeed, it is doubtful if anything approaching adequate quarters for children is available in more than a dozen. Improved quarters will mean larger staffs and, of course, increased operating expenses. One cannot be optimistic about the possibility that such

changes will very soon come to pass; they nevertheless seem more feasible than the establishment of a single central library.

To the American or English librarian the statistics reflecting use of the Paris public libraries may seem very modest indeed. French librarians themselves are fully conscious of the limitations of their institutions, and they are constantly striving to improve the situation. Lack of funds is, of course, one—but only one—of the many reasons for the apparent backwardness of the French libraries, and even a vast (and unlikely) increase in library appropriations would not altogether change the situation. A long period of education will be necessary before Parisians generally will even be aware of their libraries, much less use them to a greater extent. Furthermore, the long tradition of book-owning, in contrast to book-borrowing, in France (as in other European countries) tends to make readers independent of library resources, at least for the general run of trade publications. Anyone who visits Paris and other French cities cannot fail to be impressed with the tremendous number of bookstores everywhere. One may safely assume that more book-reading goes on in Paris than in any American city of comparable size. The improvement in library facilities would certainly increase reading and would secure new readers; it is doubtful whether such an increase would encroach very seriously on the tradition of book-ownership.

The Paris public library system is still in its early stages of development. Progress toward more adequate facilities, more extensive book collections, and greater use must inevitably be slow. Yet even now the public libraries of Paris make an important contribution to the cultural life of the city, and their librarians merit the recognition of professional colleagues throughout the world.[2]

[2] In the preparation of this paper the writer has been immeasurably helped by M. Michel Bertogne, inspecteur en chef des bibliothèques municipales, and M. Pierre Manoha, inspecteur adjoint. M. Bertogne's article, "Les Bibliothèques municipales de Paris et de la Seine" in *Cahiers français d'information*, No. 153 (April 1, 1950), pp. 17–20, has been an invaluable source of information, as have his annual reports. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the friendly and wholehearted assistance of both gentlemen.

THE GEOGRAPHIC EXTENT OF THE DUTCH BOOK TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

DAVID W. DAVIES

THE Netherlanders have always been great traders. Living at the mouths of great rivers, the Scheldt, the Maas, and the Rhine, they had great advantages for inland trade, and such trade developed early. In the seventeenth century the Dutch also developed an extensive sea trade in Europe and on the dim far edges of the world.

Since the stock of an overland caravan generally consisted of light, expensive, or luxury items, the seventeenth-century Netherlanders were quick to seize upon and exploit the special advantage of sea trade—the ability to transport low-priced, heavy, or bulky materials at a profit. Their herring fish was such an article, shiploads being sold in Spain and France. After having caught the herring off the British coast, the Dutch were also so outrageous as to sell them in English ports, to the great anguish of the British. The grain trade from the Baltic was another commerce in a bulk commodity developed by the Dutch into a trade of first importance. Going in ballast or carrying salt (another bulk commodity) from France, their ships took on grain in such Baltic ports as Königsberg, Danzig, or Reval to be either transported to warehouses in Amsterdam, there to await a favorable market, or sold directly in France or Spain. Another branch of the Baltic trade carried iron, copper, and fabricated steel from Swedish ports. In time, the trade in grain, by fortuitous circumstances, was extended to Italy. From thence the ships often returned with marble for ballast, which, as the visitor to Holland will see, has had felicitous results. Holland is a province of clay, sand, and peat—a stone being treasured there as Dr. Johnson said a stick was treasured up in Scotland—yet the stately houses of the Prinsengracht and Keizersgracht are frequently adorned with marble floors and marble wainscot, a memorial to this Italian grain trade. Whale fishing was, of course, another exploitation of the capacity to trade by sea over a distance.

It was from this solid base of large-scale trading in bulk goods—timber from Norway, cannon from Sweden, as well as the commodities already mentioned—that the Dutch were able to accumulate venture capital to erect a superstructure of trade in the two Indies, China, Formosa, Japan, the Cape, and other exotic regions.

This was not the only superstructure so erected. In time, the commerce in bulk goods having established far-flung trading routes and furnished them with ample shipping, there developed a trade in small, expensive commodities, carried at low additional cost on the ships already plying the trade routes. The whale fishers took trinkets and jewelry for trade with the natives along Arctic shores; the herring fishers supplied the Shetland Islanders with necessary household articles; and an East Indiaman wallowing along to the Indies with a cargo of gold, cloth, soldiers, and civil servants might also have on board for speculation

a few paintings of respectable burgomasters or of the Dutch countryside.

Booksellers and publishers also profited from the web of communications woven by Dutch merchants, and a trade in books printed in Holland flowed along sea routes as well as over time-honored land routes. As Professor Kernkamp has said, it would have been pointless to print in Amsterdam books in Armenian without transportation to the Near East and firm trade relations with it. The Dutch book trade was part of the fabric of trade in general, and, as a result, Holland manufactured books in Swedish, Armenian, Hungarian, Spanish, Italian, French, English, Yiddish, Arabic, and other oriental tongues, as well as numerous books in Latin, the international scholarly language, and Greek, in which there was widespread interest.

Books were an article not only of Dutch trade but of Dutch manufacture. Although primarily a trading people, the Netherlanders were also (in spite of a dearth of materials) manufacturers of importance. It was a commonplace of the seventeenth century that, although the Dutch had no timber, they were the great shipbuilders; without sheep, they were important cloth manufacturers; with no sugar cane in their own country, they possessed the great sugar refineries; and without mulberry trees or worms, they drew the silk market to Amsterdam. Without pressing the analogy too far, one might say that books followed the pattern of importing raw materials and exporting finished products, in the sense that, although Dutch writers were vigorous and prolific, Dutch printers were adepts at importing the writings of foreigners, printing or reprinting them, and selling them again in the country of origin. One first edition of Galileo bears a Dutch imprint, and several of his books were reprinted there. Descartes's works were printed in Leiden and Amsterdam; Hobbes, Racine, Molière, Guez de Balzac, John Selden, Casaubon, Ménage, Gassendi, Bossuet, La Fontaine, and other contemporary non-Dutch writers also were published in Holland.

Part of the reason for the importance of the Dutch in world trade was that seventeenth-century Netherlanders were ever on the alert for what might be called "starved" markets. A bad harvest year in Italy brought Dutch grain ships to the ports of that country. A Spanish colonial policy compelling Spanish Americans to buy nonexistent Spanish articles from nonexistent Spanish traders brought Dutch interlopers into the Americas. Similarly, the Dutch brethren in the book trades were alert to the possibilities of selling court scandals suppressed in Paris, royalist tracts suppressed by Roundheads, or Jansenist works proscribed by Jesuits. Whether a scarcity of goods was due to a bad harvest, lack of printing equipment, monopoly, or proscription, there was an appropriate Dutch trader ready and willing to take advantage of it. He was often better able to seize the advantage than were traders in other countries, because his goods were cheap. The great object of Holland's ruling class was simply to obtain a sufficient supply of cheap goods—cordage, linen, ships, books, etc.—to trade successfully overseas.

With these few preliminary remarks on how and why the Dutch book trade spread over Europe, it is of some interest to note where it spread to. At the outset, we may infer that, when a Dutch printer issued a book in German, English, Spanish, French, Armenian, or Hungarian, he intended it for a foreign market as well as for foreign residents in his own country. When a book printed in Holland pur-

ported to be printed in Paris, Lyon, or Cologne, we may assume that it was intended for consumption abroad, where a Dutch imprint might have hindered its sale. Books issued in Holland in foreign languages, with false imprints or with no imprint at all, are tangible evidence of a widespread trade.

Such evidence is sufficiently abundant, but there is more concrete information at hand. The Stationers' Register, Lepreux's *Gallia Typographica*, the documents gathered by Van Stockum and Kleerkooper, and a number of other works contain actual records of Dutch books exported to foreign lands. By far the most useful sources are the documents gathered by Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, consisting of more than seventeen hundred printed pages.[1] To a large extent these are notary records, but the compilers have also included material in law codes, contemporary newspapers, and other documentary sources. As is readily apparent from the citations, this article is largely based on these documents.

Following the route of the grain ships, which was perhaps the line of least resistance, the book trade to the Baltic ports became an important one. A good proportion of surviving documents concern the sale of Yiddish books in that region. The Jews of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century were nearly all Sephardic. Yiddish works, therefore, were not intended for local consumption. When four Amsterdam merchants agreed to print 6,300 copies of a Yiddish Bible, the copies were obviously for foreign export.[2] Such Yiddish books would not, of course, all be sold in Baltic ports; but there is evidence of the sale of Yiddish books there. Some nine years after the contract noted above, Messrs. Blaeu and Bake entered into an agreement with Rabbi Nachman whereby Nachman would go to Poland, there to sell as many copies as possible (within certain restrictions mentioned) of a 4,000-copy edition of a Yiddish Bible. Nachman was empowered also to trade the Bibles for stavewood, pipestems, potash, red or Russia leather, and also masts, provided that the purchasers of the Bible delivered these articles at their own cost at Danzig.[3] About 1673, a similar arrangement was made between a group of Dutch booksellers, on the one hand, and Rabbi Meijer Frankel, on the other. Copies of a Yiddish Bible were to be delivered to the Rabbi at Danzig, and he was to sell them there.[4] A telling indication of the extent of the book trade is the fact that in 1685, after deliberation, the city government of Breslau decided not to establish a printing press, "because in Holland in Amsterdam there are three important Jewish presses from which books are brought to Danzig and Memel by sea. In this way the Jews of Poland and Lithuania are furnished with these books."[5]

Aside from this evidence of trade in Yiddish and Hebrew books, there are other documents concerning the book trade in the Baltic. When Nicholaes Nosser Vant Waater died in 1702, an inventory was made of his estate, and therein it was noted that great numbers of his books were in the hands of individuals (probably agents) at Danzig, Stet-

[1] M. M. Kleerkooper and W. P. Van Stockum, Jr., *De Boekhandel te Amsterdam, voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw* . . . ('s-Gravenhage, 1914–16).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 364.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 1167–68.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 41–42.

[5] J. M. Hillesum, "Uit de Geschiedenis der Joden in Amsterdam," *Elzevier's Geillustreerd Maandblad*, LIV (July, 1917), 30. Quoted by Herbert I. Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam* (Williamsport, 1937), p. 59, n. 126.

tin, Stralsund, Greifswald, Bremen, Lubeck, Hamburg, Cologne, and Copenhagen.[6] In other documents it is asserted that Johannes Janssonius van Waesberghe Gilliszoon was renowned not only in the Netherlands but throughout Germany; that with his brother he maintained the most important bookstore in Danzig; that, in addition, he maintained a lesser but still important store at Leipzig, another at Frankfurt, and a distinguished shop in Amsterdam.[7]

Commercial relations with Sweden also included a trade in books. Queen Christina sought to have Daniel Elzevier establish a shop in her country, and, although he did not do so, a shop was established there by Johannes Janssonius. Christina's predecessor, Gustaf Adolf, was also interested in attracting Dutch printer-booksellers to his country and imported Pieter van Selow, printer and typefounder, who issued a number of books there, some of which were in Russian.[8] Another vestige of the Swedish trade was an evidence sworn to before an Amsterdam notary, affirming that Johannes Crellius, master-bookprinter of the city, had contracted to print a Bible in Swedish for Hendrik Keijser.[9]

Turning toward the West, one notes that relations between the United Provinces and England were many and varied. For the greater part of the seventeenth century the United Provinces surpassed England as a manufacturing and commercial power. The English complained bitterly when the Dutch broke into their monopolies, outdistanced them in competition, and drained money out of England. Netherlanders carried on not only a brisk business in Puritan tracts, royalist polemics, newspapers, and scholarly works but also a steady trade in maps and books about the sea. An indication of the latter fact is that, throughout the eighteenth century in England, a book of sailing directions was known as a "wagoner" because of the widely known "Spieghel der Zeevaerdt" of Lucas Waghenaer.

It was the Bible, however, which, because the Bible monopoly supplied the English with too few copies at too high a price, was the backbone of the Dutch book trade in England. An interesting incident in this connection concerns John Fell, who, in 1671–72, zealous to place the Oxford Press on a secure footing, proposed to utilize the University's privilege to print Bibles, which had been temporarily relinquished. The King's printer, apprehensive of Fell's design, complained that there was little money in printing Bibles because of "the Hollanders continuall poureing in vast numbers of Bibles," so that they sold not a tenth part of what they formerly did. Existing records bear out the statement. Thomas Loof, Amsterdam printer, had sixteen hundred English Bibles in 1641 and empowered Thomas Stafford to sell them.[10] Hugo Fitz, merchant of Amsterdam, in 1644 purchased six thousand English Bibles from Jan Frederickszoon Stam and Thomas Craffort, paying for them in goods.[11] Joseph Athias, widely known printer of Amsterdam, boasted that "for several years I myself printed more than

[6] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 531.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

[8] R. A. Peddie, *Printing: A Short History of the Art* (London, 1927), p. 226.

[9] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 154. (Keijser was a German who settled at Stockholm in 1633.)

[10] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 1371. See a note on Stafford in H. G. Aldis and Others, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England* . . . (London, 1910), p. 255. There is also a note on Stam in this volume.

[11] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 1453.

a million Bibles for England and Scotland. There is no plow boy or servant girl there without one."[12] On September 22, 1670, Athias obtained an exclusive privilege from the States of Holland to print English Bibles for the period of fifteen years.[13] The previous year, Athias had called upon Christoffel Gangelt to make restitution for selling Bibles which had been left in his warehouse as security—Gangelt having shipped many to Ostend and thence to England, where they were sold.[14] In 1649 Edmont Blake negotiated to purchase from Elias Aernoldts of Amsterdam fifteen thousand copies of an English Bible.[15] In 1671 Susanna Veselaer, Steven Swart, and Joannes Ward entered into a joint project to print an English Bible.[16] In *Scintilla, or a Light Broken into Darke Warehouses*, as reprinted in Arber's . . . *Registers of the Company of Stationers*,[17] are these entries:

> *Holland* Bible in 12[mo] sold at 2.sh. in quires, better than the *London* one of 1639 sold at 4sh. pitty the manufactory should be carryed thither by deare selling here.
>
> Latin Bibles 12[mo] of *Amsterdam*, printed well, and sold at 2sh in quires, and good paper. *London* Latin Bible 12 [mo] printed with a popish Index, sold at 4sh. in quires, and not under.
>
> Observe *London* Stationers that bought of the Lattin *Holland Bibles*, punished in the High Commission for buying Lattin Bibles from *Holland*, a yeare before even any were printed in *London*. . . .

Documents indicating a trade in books other than Bibles are fairly numerous. The papers on Daniel Elzevier's attempts to protect his right to sell Grotius' works in England and to extricate himself from the project of publishing Milton's Latin state letters make interesting reading. Joan Blaeu printed for Robert Scott, an English bookseller with many Continental connections, *La vie du général Monk, duc d'Albemarle*, and Scott and Blaeu sought and obtained from the States of Holland an exclusive privilege for fifteen years to print the works of John Selden.[18] The heirs of Joan Blaeu printed in 1679 Hugo Grotius' *Opera theologica*, edited by Grotius' son and dedicated to Charles II, for Moses Pitt of London.[19] On July 20, 1699, Wetstein held a book sale. He listed the towns and booksellers where the catalog of the collection might be had, namely, Wesel, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and also the shop of S. Smith in London.[20] On May 12, 1660, John Tuthill, a bookseller of Yarmouth, entered into a contract with Arnold Colom, a printer and bookseller of Amsterdam, whereby Colom was to print for Tuthill five hundred copies of a Straits book in English, i.e., a sailing guide to the Mediterranean, and one hundred copies for himself. Each agreed not to spoil the market for the other by printing, or having printed, additional copies and also that, for the succeeding twelve years, neither would sell a copy for less than six guilders the bound copy.[21] Violet Barbour remarks that "in 1625 a consignment of 'seditious books

[12] Bloom, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[13] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 1136–37.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 1136.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 1135.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 685.

[17] Vol. IV, 37.

[18] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 1164–65.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 46. Moses Pitt was one of the most important English booksellers of the latter half of the century. See the entry in Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907).

[20] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 909. An excerpt from the *Amsterdamse Saturdaegse Courant*, 1699, No. 80. There is an interesting note on Smith in Plomer, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[21] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 1230–31.

brought from Flanders'—for which we may read 'theological tracts of a Calvinist nature from Holland'—was smuggled ashore in Scotland before the ship which brought them could be searched."[22]

Although the trade with France was undoubtedly more extensive than that with England, there are fewer documents concerning it. It is well known that the Elzevier firm sent an agent to Paris fairly regularly, and from existing documents it appears that Daniel Elzevier sold books in Nantes, Tours, Saumur, and Vannes. There are also several indications of trade in books from Holland at Rouen. A letter from the Chancellor to one M. Feydeau de Bron (February 27, 1688) indicates that Dutch booksellers, though not actually in Normandy, perhaps had agents there. "There has been given here an *advis* from Rouen," the letter reads, "to the effect that one Acher, printer of Dieppe who had retired to Holland because of his religion has returned there with a great many wicked books which he distributes everyday by means of placing them in herring casks; that he has some still on board boats in the river; and that he has sold to a merchant of Chartre who comes to distribute them at Paris. I shall have the merchant of Chartre observed and if it is found that the information is true, I shall let you know. . . ."[23]

On another occasion it was alleged by the inspectors for the Rouen book trade that the city had a great number of Protestant booksellers, who continually received bales and packages of books from England, Holland, and other places where were printed prohibited books and libels which one would not dare to print in France, and that later these books were distributed in all the cities of that country. A reply, which would seem to corroborate rather than to refute this statement, was made in October, 1666, by one M. Le Bourgeois, who said that, as for receiving bales of books from foreign countries, it was not a business peculiar to Protestants and, indeed, the Catholic booksellers received more such bales than Protestants.[24] There are also documents printed by Kleerkooper showing that Jan Jacobs Schipper of Amsterdam, on June 16, 1663, agreed to print the "Consilia generalia" for two merchants of Lyon, George Remeus and Horatius Boisadt.[25]

The printing of books in Hungarian and their sale in Hungary also proved profitable. Hungarian books were printed at Leiden by Johannes à Woerden as early as 1627 and by Wilhelmus Christianus in 1637. Johannes Janssonius, in 1645, printed a Hungarian Bible and, the following year, brought out a New Testament in small format.[26] Thereafter, a number of Hungarian Bibles were printed, for there was actually a shortage of Bibles in Hungary during part of the seventeenth century,[27] and their printing offered a fine business opportunity. Hungarian books were also issued by Johannes Wellens and Johannes Gijselaar at Franeker; by Petrus Leffen at Leiden; and by Johannes Noortdijk, Johannes Waesberghe, Johannes Swol, Ernestus Voskul, Theodorus Ackersdijck, and Gysbertus Zyll at Utrecht.[28]

The printing of Armenian books at

[22] Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 66.

[23] Georges Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica; ou, répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France . . . Paris, 1912.* III (série départementale), p. 229.

[24] Lepreux, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[25] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 1442–43.

[26] E. Miklos, "De Hongaarsche Bijbels in Nederland," *Het Boek* (1917), pp. 322–23.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

Amsterdam has already received a good deal of attention. It seems obvious that, although there was an Armenian colony in Amsterdam,[29] much of the work produced was intended to be sold in the Near East. This was probably the case with the Armenian Bible produced by the Armenian printer Matthew Avac in 1666. Kleerkooper also reproduces a document from the files of the notary F. Tixerandet (dated March 3, 1694), which says, in part, that a shipment of six thousand Armenian books intrusted to an Armenian, Paolo Alexan, and shipped to Smyrna was lost in the earthquake there.[30]

Trade relations with Belgium were, of course, extensive. Because the books which were sent to Johannes Janssonius by François Viveen at Brussels fell into the water and were spoiled, there is a record of the event.[31] Another Amsterdam bookseller, Frederick van Metelen, entered into an agreement with his creditors on September 16, 1694, to pay them 17 per cent on his debts, and he mentioned among his creditors Joan Heck and Jacobus Woons of Antwerp.[32]

The relations with Germany, as is known, were close. Probably the most important single event for Dutch booksellers was the Frankfort Book Fair. Their important position there is indicated by the fact that, in 1669, they threatened the Frankfort council, saying that they would boycott the fair if they were not freed from harassing regulations. At least 135 Dutch booksellers visited the fair during the century, some of them making numerous visits. Additional evidence of Dutch trading in Frankfort is also available in the form of a document printed by Kleerkooper, in which the widow of Joan Blaeu assigned a debt, owed to her by a Frankfort printer, to a bookseller of the same city. Hondius apparently took his atlases to the fair; on occasions, the atlases were taken by Johannes Janssonius and by Cornelis Claeszoon.[33] On September 6, 1679, the brothers Dirk and Hendrik Boom entered into an agreement respecting their common property in books at Amsterdam,"at Frankfurt, in the Hague, and elsewhere. . . ,"[34] prior to Dirk Boom's going to Frankfort. It should also be noted that books in Czech were printed in Holland and that these also had some sale abroad.

Although one can find, as indicated, evidence of individual deals in books by Dutchmen in foreign countries, perhaps a better impression of the ramifications of Dutch trade is gained by noting the activities of Dutch bookhouses in the seventeenth century. An interesting example of booksellers with a Europe-wide book trade is the house of Elzevier. Louis Elzevier, the first of the name to sell books in Holland, traveled often to the Frankfort fair, as did his descendants for seventy-five years after him. He also journeyed to other German and Belgian cities. Paris was regularly visited by succeeding generations of Elzeviers on book-buying and -selling expeditions. Members of the family also sold books in Italy, England, and Sweden; and at one time the Elzeviers maintained a shop in Copenhagen.

The end of the century saw the rise of

[29] "De Armenische Kolonie (te Amsterdam), Een bladzijde uit de Nederl. Handelsgeschiedenis," *Ons Journael*, III (1903), Nos. 10–12.

[30] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 1125.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 1323. The document is dated August 18, 1662.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 414.

[33] C. P. Burger, Jr., "Amsterdamsche boeken op de Frankforter Mis," *Het Boek* (1935–36), p. 184.

[34] Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 71.

another great house. According to contemporaries, there was not a principality or city in the whole of Europe where the Huguetans did not have agents, clerks, or warehouses. An agreement of Mark, Jean, and Pierre Huguetan dated 1694 has been preserved, which lists debtors of the firm. Among those owing are: "Sr. Delgas of London and Oxford 10,000.00 guilders; Olenschlager at Frankfort, 14,107.10 guilders; in our shop at Leipzig, 4,451.14; in Livorno 17,522.40 guilders; in Lisbon and Alicante 10.029.10." It is stated also that there were debtors in Italy owing 34,879.90 francs; in Germany, 14,344.11 marks; in England, 902.13 pounds sterling; in Portugal, 4,823.82 Rees; and in Holland, France, Spain, and Flanders, 37,801.14 guilders.[35]

In the inventory of the estate of Johannes Janssonius it appears that he had shops at Frankfort, Danzig, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Berlin. In addition, he possessed book stocks at Königsberg, Geneva, and Lyon. As a consequence of maintaining this international trade, Janssonius, on his death, left stocks of books in German, French, Italian, Dutch, and Latin.[36] When the widow of Bernard Picart died in 1736, the list of debtors and outstanding claims included; Garin Hamilton at Edinburgh (404:15 guilders); Jacques Regnier of London (69:18); Gaspar du Change at Paris (136:7:8); Durant at London (50); books on consignment to Pierre du Noyer at London (352:9); the heirs of Jeremias Wolf at Augsbourg (1); Louis Suruge at Paris (account had not yet been balanced); Marsellus Larroan at London (1:19); Pierre Giffart at Paris (448 guilders, but not all for books); and Doufils at Brussels (72:18:8).[37]

The documents cited in this article as evidence of an international Dutch book trade must, in view of the low survival record of commercial documents, represent only a very small part of such instruments executed by bookdealers in the seventeenth century. Although the picture is not complete, the surviving evidence shows clearly that seventeenth-century Dutch booksellers traded extensively in Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, Smyrna, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, England, and Scotland.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 1325.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 561–62.

THE DUKE ADDRESSES HIS SUBJECTS
A STUDY IN PROPAGANDA, 1514

RUDOLF HIRSCH

It is common to see in the invention of printing the beginning of a new era. It is equally justifiable, and perhaps more correct, to view it as the logical culmination of various efforts to discover and to develop a comparatively inexpensive method of textual reproduction. When we examine the uses of printing, we fail to discover more than a few real innovations; but the invention of printing effected shifts in emphasis, it accelerated the development of techniques and methods, and it facilitated the spread of knowledge, pseudo-knowledge, faith, and superstition. In other words, it is by the indirect and not by the direct effect that the importance of the invention is to be measured. The same is true of propaganda, which, in its main elements, is as old as man's vanity, his yearning for an audience, and his desire for power. It was practiced in ancient and medieval orations, sermons, and writings; it was disseminated in pamphlets, handbills, and posters before printing supplied new and cheaper means of producing multiple copies and of spreading information to a wider public.[1]

Ecclesiastical and secular chancelleries put printing to profitable use soon after its invention. The earliest surviving examples are the indulgences of 1454 and 1455 which were issued in connection with the projected crusade against the Turks.[2] The first use by civil chancelleries followed in 1461-62, when Emperor Friedrich III participated in the struggle between the two rival archbishops of Mainz.[3] Increasing use of printed broadsides is evident from a comparison of output under the signatures of Friedrich III and Maximilian I. During the fifteenth century alone, the latter is known to have issued eighty-five broadsides,[4] as against thirty which appeared under the name of Friedrich.[5]

By 1514 printing was well established and its use in propaganda quite common. The series which is the subject of this study offers, however, some points of unusual interest: it is the first printed record accompanying a significant social struggle of the pre-Reformation period; its printed documents illustrate the types of materials and the methods used in the dissemination of information.

Before examining these publications, it may be useful to summarize briefly the early history of the Württemberg peasants' revolt of 1514, commonly referred to as "der arme Konrad."[6] Closely re-

[1] A good history of propaganda is found in W. Bauer, *Die öffentliche Meinung in der Weltgeschichte* (Potsdam, 1929).

[2] G. Zedler, "Mainzer Ablassbriefe der Jahre 1454 und 1455," *Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg Gesellschaft*, XII-XIII (1913); see also Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, *Einblattdrucke des XV. Jahrhunderts* . . . (Halle, 1914), Nos. 482-89.

[3] *Einblattdrucke*, Nos. 87, 514-15, 599, 1194-98.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 909-93.

[5] *Ibid.*, Nos. 599-628.

[6] The story of this peasant rising has been told by many, e.g., W. Vogt, *Die Vorgeschichte des Bauernkrieges* (Halle, 1887), pp. 130-39; more fully in W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Bauern-Krieges* (Stuttgart, 1854), pp. 191-261; with reprinting of contemporary documents in C. F. Sattler, *Geschichte des Herzogthums Wuertenberg* (Ulm, 1769), I, 157-65, and Appendix, pp. 157-73;

lated to the "Bundschuh," "der arme Konrad"—or, as it is sometimes called, "der arme Kunz"—was organized as a body of disgruntled peasants in the earlier years of the sixteenth century. The outbreak of the revolt and its suppression fell in the year 1514. The main dates and events can be outlined as follows:

Ca. 1503–14: "Der arme Konrad" was formed and built into an organization consisting mainly of half-free and unfree peasants.[7] It attracted some men of means and position; among the leaders were Peter Geiss, Hans Vollmar, Caspar Pregizer, and Ulrich Entenmaier.[8]

April 15, 1514: Peter Geiss performed a farcical "Gottesgericht" on the river Rems, near Schorndorf, which was the main center of the revolt. Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, continuously in need of more money to support his luxurious way of living, had ordered the reduction of weights and measures to increase his revenue without apparent increase in prices. Geiss threw the new weights into the Rems before a considerable audience, "to sink, if the peasants were right, to swim, if the Duke was right."

May 2, 1514: Ulrich visited Schorndorf and promised to call the long overdue "Landtag."

May 28, 1514: Representatives of dissatisfied peasants met at Untertürkheim to organize an armed revolt.[9] The first serious insurrections occurred soon after the meeting and led to the occupation of several small towns.

June 16, 1514: Representatives of the towns and delegates of the peasants assembled in Stuttgart to discuss their grievances. The parliament had been called in Stuttgart for June 25. Meanwhile, Ulrich organized his forces to suppress further revolt and appealed to the free cities and sovereigns of neighboring territories for help.

June 21, 1514: To escape the pressure of revolutionary and dissatisfied elements, Ulrich suddenly changed the seat of the "Landtag" meeting from Stuttgart to Tübingen.

June 25, 1514: The meeting began in Tübingen with prelates, nobles, and town representatives, but without delegates from the "Land."

July 8, 1514: Agreement was reached in the form of the so-called "Tübinger Vertrag." It did not meet the majority of demands made by the peasants[10] and submitted on their behalf by the towns. Its main outcome, to be ratified throughout the duchy, was the assumption of the ducal debts of 910,000 guilders by towns and "land" against some ducal concessions, e.g., the promise of "no punishment without trial," reform of the corvée, protection of fields.

July 1514: Continued agitation of peasants and refusal to accept the treaty, followed by their defeat on July 31.

With the drafting of the "Tübinger Vertrag" begins the period illustrated by official publications, all but one printed in Tübingen by Thomas Anshelm.

The Tübinger Vertrag[11] has not survived in its original printed form; it is listed by Steiff[12] and described by Weller[13] after Wagner.[14] It was reprinted in 1515 with other documents pertaining to the treaty (cf. n. 25). Concurrently with the Tübinger Vertrag a proclamation called *Nebenabschied* was issued. These two documents were made known throughout Württemberg, the former to acquaint the population with the contents of the treaty, the latter to coerce the recalcitrant element into ratification. Neverthe-

for Marxist interpretation see esp. F. Engels, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (various editions in German and English).—W. Heyd, *Bibliographie der Württembergischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1895), I, 82, does not list any monograph on "der arme Konrad."

[7] Extensive discussion of the status of peasants and of their duties and taxes in a nearby region is found in H. Heerwagen, *Die Lage der Bauern zur Zeit des Bauernkrieges in der Taubergegend* (Nuremberg, 1899).

[8] List of outstanding members of revolt in W. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–8, *et passim*.

[9] According to Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[10] Full list of peasants' complaints in C. F. Sattler, *op. cit.*, I, 160–64.

[11] Reprinted in Sattler, *op. cit.*, I, *Beylagen*, 145 ff.

[12] K. Steiff, *Der erste Buchdruck in Tübingen (1498–1534)* (Tübingen, 1884), p. 202, No. 10.

[13] E. Weller, *Repertorium bibliographicum* (Nördlingen, 1884), No. 861.

[14] *Serapeum*, XXII (1861), 130, No. 48.

less, the signing proceeded slowly. The terms failed to satisfy the opposition, and the intentions of the duke were distrusted especially by the peasants. Those who were disappointed by the treaty may well have been worried by the forewarnings of the *Nebenabschied* (no longer extant in its printed form),[15] which threatened those who persisted in their attitude of disobedience as follows:

> Ob sichs fürderhin begebe, dass jemand, wer der wäre, einig Auflauf oder Empörung machen, oder fürnehmen würde, wider die Herrschaft, ihrer fürstlichen Gnaden Räthe, Amtleute, Diener und Prälaten, Geistlichkeit, Burgermeistern, Gericht, Rath oder sonst wider die Ehrbarkeit, solche nieder zu drücken-, so sollte der sein Leib und Leben verwirkt haben und an ihm darauf seine verschuldete Strafe vollstreckt werden, es sey mit Viertheilen, Radbrechen, Ertränken. . . . Und alle sollen einen leiblichen Eid zu Gott und den Heiligen schwören, darin einander getreue Hülfe zu thun, um solche Uebelthäter und Pöbel als Niederdrücker der Gerechtigkeit und Ehrbarkeit . . . niederzuschlagen. . . . Und in welchen Häusern man erfände, dass wissentlich solch bös Fürnehmen darin gerathschlagt . . . die sollen abgebrochen oder verbrannt . . . werden.

These threats notwithstanding, large groups of peasants continued their agitation against ratification, and seven thousand of their number assembled in the vicinity of Schorndorf. Marshal Thumb urged the peasants to accept the treaty and to disperse peacefully, but had to return without success. Next, Duke Ulrich appeared in person to argue his case. His presence further infuriated the peasants, and he was forced to flee when an attempt was made to capture him or, as some hold, to assassinate him. Returning from his futile attempt to Stuttgart, Ulrich consolidated his army, which was reinforced by contingents sent by neighboring sovereigns. Since payment of his debts was to be assumed by the signatories of the Tübinger treaty, Ulrich had regained credit; it seemed advisable, or even profitable, to support him. Ulrich attacked the concentrated forces of peasants on July 31 and won a complete victory. Sixteen hundred peasants are said to have been captured and many executed without trial.

It is impossible to state with any degree of certainty what effect, if any, the partial compromise of the treaty proposal and the threats of the proclamation (*Nebenabschied*) may have had on the outcome of the battle of July 31. But it is likely that these documents weakened the will of some and created sufficient hesitation on the part of the revolutionary forces to facilitate the duke's victory. Undoubtedly, both documents were distributed widely and read throughout the duchy. The very absence of surviving copies may be proof of their abuse and subsequent disintegration.

Shortly after the defeat Ulrich issued a proclamation known to us in its original printed form. It is dated August 16, 1514, and bears the title *Warhafftig vnderrichtung der vffruern vnnd handlungen sich im fürstenthumb Wirtemperg begeben.* It was printed concurrently in at least three issues:

I. *Anshelm imprints:*
   1. Quarto; with arms—Steiff 61a
   2. Quarto; without arms—Steiff 61b
   3. Large folio; four folio leaves pasted together to form a poster—Steiff 61c

II. *Different printer:*
   4. Quarto; not printed by, but possibly for, Anshelm, who may have lacked the facilities to print all the necessary copies; however, Steiff (p. 112) calls it a reprint ("Nachdruck")

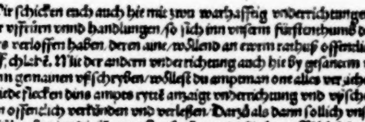
Steiff gives no information on the size of edition. Possibly such data could be found in the account books of the Würt-

[15] Steiff (*op. cit.*, No. 57), without locating a copy, states that it had been seen by Gutscher in Leonberg and that, according to the description, it was an Anshelm imprint; the text is reprinted in Sattler and quoted here as excerpted in Zimmermann (*op. cit.*, pp. 225–26).

temberg state archives. From evidence presented by Schottenloher[16] and others, it is fair to assume that each issue consisted of a minimum of one hundred copies; we can be sure that enough copies were printed to allow for the widest circulation possible. Ulrich was most eager to lay his case before all his subjects, many of whom had been sympathetic to the "arme Konrad." He therefore sent, along with the *Warhafftig vnderrichtung*, printed letters (*Begleitschreiben*), in at least five different editions, addressed to the bishops and the abbots, the counts and freemen ("an die Grafen und Freien"), the free cities ("an die Reichsstädte"), and the bailiffs ("an die Amtleute").[17]

Few scholars realize that this type of instruction sheet, or circular letter, made its appearance during the early period of printing. Such *Begleitschreiben* are important, since they present a clear picture of the methods used in the dissemination of information.[18] We do not know to what extent their use may have been common practice; their very character, comparable to that of our modern mimeographed releases, discouraged preservation; copies survived by mere accident in archival collections. Steiff 62a, b, d, and e have been recorded in single copies only, all in the Württemberg state archives; a copy of Steiff 62c is preserved in the Germanische Museum at Nuremberg. The University of Pennsylvania Library recently acquired a copy of the *Begleitschreiben an die Amtleute* (Steiff 62e), which, for various reasons, seems the most informative of these instruction sheets.

Dated *ut in literis*, it thus differed from all other editions. They bear a specific date, that of the *Warhafftig vnderrichtung:* "Mittwoch nach Assumptionis Mariae," i.e., August 16, 1514. The vagueness of the date in the *Begleitschreiben an die Amtleute* is explained by the fact that it was meant to accompany two broadsides, the *Warhafftig vnderrichtung* and the *Ausschreiben betreffend die Flüchtiggewordenen,*[19] a detail ignored by Steiff. The full text of the *Begleitschreiben* is reproduced in facsimile. In contrast to


Wir schicken euch auch hie mit zwo warhafftig vnderrichtungen
der vffrürn vnnd handlungen / so sich inn vnserm fürstenthumb dis
iars verloffen haben. deren aine / wöllend an einem rathuß offenlich
vff chlahen. Die der andern vnderrichtung auch hie by gesanten vn
serm genanten vßschryben / wöllest du amptman one allen verziehen
in iede flecken dins amptes [illegible] anzaigt vnderrichtung vnd vßschry
ben offenlich verkünden vnd verlesen. Darzů als dann sollich vnser
vßschryben inn die fürnemesten flecken an die kirchen vffschlahen / vn
hinfüro sollichs alle iar aigentlich inn allen vogt gerichten ieder dins
amptes flecken vffs ernstlichest [illegible] / vn sunst auch in strenger
gedechtnus vnd handthabung behalten / daran thůnd wir vns ernst
lich verlassen. Datum ut in literis.

the *Begleitschreiben* of 1498 (transcribed in n. 18), the letters of instruction of 1514

[16] K. Schottenloher, *Flugblatt und Zeitung* (Berlin, 1922).

[17] Steiff, *op. cit.*, Nos. 62a–62e; Steiff holds that two further editions had been printed (cf. p. 114, note to No. 62e).

[18] The only other printed letter of this kind of which this writer has found any notice is a *Begleitschreiben* of Heinrich, bishop of Bamberg, from the press of Johannes Pfeil, 1498. This *Begleitschreiben* is merely mentioned in *Einblattdrucke* (*op. cit.*, p. viii, n. 1). Dr. Neukam kindly supplied the following bibliographical description from the unique copy preserved in the Staatsarchiv, Bamberg:

Class mark: Rep. B. 48, Bd. 1, nr. 3.

Transcript: Heinrich von gots gnaden / Bischoue zu Bamberg. Vnnsern grus lieben getrewen vñ besundern vns ist vnbesorgter Ding vnd / on alle verursachñg ein swere sach dieser zeit zugefallen die wir mit yren / vmbstēden vff das kurczist in diesem beygelegten abtruck begreiffen las / sen haben. an euch mit gunstlichem begere bietend den on verdriß zulesen̄ / und euch unser bete nach darin verleybt mit gutwilliger erzeygñg gegen / vns vnd vnserm Stifft beweisen wollen wir gegen euch mit gnedigem / willen zuerkennen nit vergessen. Dat. Bamberg am sontag Letare Añ / no etc. LXXXXVIII

Ms. inscription on verso: den vesten unsern lieben getreuen und besundern Apeln, Philippen und allen anders des geslechts von Gutemberg.

Size of type-page: 59 × 130 mm.

[19] Steiff, *op. cit.*, No. 63; it is dated "sampstags," August 19, 1514, three days later than the *Warhafftig vnderrichtung*.

give concrete and specific directions on how to disseminate the attached documents; one copy of the *Warhafftig vnderrichtung* was to be posted publicly at the town hall, obviously to be read by all and sundry, like any other public notice. The other copy, together with the *Ausschreiben*, was to be announced and then to be read aloud in every village of the district, in the end to be posted on the church of the most important village. This is a carefully stated procedure, clear and simple in style, in contrast to the proclamations. The method of distribution promulgated in the *Begleitschreiben* probably was the standard one for all official announcements, surely for proclamations as important as the *Warhafftig vnderrichtung* and the *Ausschreiben*. It is obvious that the reading aloud of these and subsequent proclamations reached more people and was more effective than the posting on town halls and churches. However, we are prone to underestimate the spread of literacy, and we have good reason to believe that some copies were circulated and that those posted were read and discussed by many who passed and stopped on the market squares of the duchy.

The *Warhafftig vnderrichtung* informed the populace of the revolt and its suppression; it requested help in the apprehension of fugitive members of the "arme Konrad."[20] The *Ausschreiben* was an even sterner document. The population was warned not to give shelter, food, or drink to the outcasts and was ordered to assist the authorities in their capture. Houses of relatives and friends tendering assistance to the fugitives were to be destroyed, they themselves to be punished like the revolutionaries. Tone and contents resembled that of the *Nebenabschied*, issued at a time when peaceful settlement still seemed possible; it contained passages directed against malicious rumors and gossip ("vergiftete und schmächliche Worte und Reden, so von Männern und Weibern, Priestern, Knaben und Töchtern öffentlich unverschämt . . . gebraucht werden . . .").[21] Priests were named specifically, probably an indication that a number of clergymen condoned the deeds of the revolutionaries. The document then went on to admonish those who overheard malicious remarks to report the culprits to the authorities. Further on we read: "Darnach hab und wiss sich ein jederman, sei geistlich oder weltlich, vor Schmach und Schaden zu hüten."[22] The document concluded with the prohibition of public assembly without official sanction.

The *Ausschreiben* contained a reference to another "vßschryben" to be published shortly. This presumably alluded to the tax proclamation of September 9, 1515,[23] which, like the Tübinger Vertrag and the *Nebenabschied*, failed to survive in a printed copy.

These were the main publications of an official nature dealing with the rising of the "arme Konrad." Cramped within a period of less than two and one-half months, they illustrate Ulrich's efforts to implement the forceful subjugation of the peasants' revolt by a rather skilful propaganda or information campaign. These printed leaflets did not achieve the complete suppression of the opposition; but they must have thrown fear into some and may have convinced others. The revolt was halted, but the many fugitives at large and a latent opposition continued to worry Duke Ulrich. On

[20] Reprinted in Sattler, *op. cit.*, I, *Beylagen*, 157–73.

[21] Rendered into modern spelling; original in University of Pennsylvania Library.

[22] See n. 21.

[23] Steiff, *op. cit.*, No. 64.

February 15, 1515, he issued another *Ausschreiben*,[24] demanding stricter observance and enforcement of his proclamation of August 19, 1514. On April 10, 1515, he released a short code, or *Landsordnung*,[25] the most positive result of the Treaty of Tübingen and of the peasants' demands for law codification. During the same month, without exact date, the text of the Treaty of Tübingen was republished, together with the Duke's and the Emperor's ratification and with an announcement calling the parliament for April 23, 1515;[26] this again was accompanied by a *Begleitschreiben*,[27] of which, however, no copy could be located by Steiff.

[24] *Ibid.*, No. 63.

[25] *Ibid.*, No. 70.

[26] *Ibid.*, No. 72.

[27] *Ibid.*, No. 73.

It is interesting to note that all these publications, even the letters of instruction addressed to bishops and abbots, were issued in German. No Latin text seems to have been printed.

We know of at least two unofficial publications dealing with the "arme Konrad"; they were written in poetic form and were described by Weller[28] and by Panzer.[29] The literary commentary on current political events, even in printed form, was no novelty. The truly significant aspect of this series of publications is that it constitutes the probably earliest use of printing in a sovereign's concentrated effort to enforce his will on his subjects.

[28] Weller, *op. cit.*, No. 854.

[29] G. W. Panzer, *Annalen* (Nuremberg, 1788), No. 793.

EUGÈNE CARDINAL TISSERANT

SISTER M. LUELLA, O.P.

The present dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals and secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Church is His Eminence, Eugène Cardinal Tisserant, Bishop of Ostia and Porto and Santa Rufina. He is a man of vast knowledge, magnificent linguistic ability, fine judgment, enormous energy, and great charity. The problems of the Eastern church require delicate and firm handling, and the decisions of the congregation carry far-reaching consequences. Intimately aware of Monsignor Tisserant's qualifications for such a post, Pius XI, in June, 1936, created him cardinal and successor to the late Luigi Cardinal Sincero, secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Church. A year later Cardinal Tisserant was consecrated bishop by Cardinal Pacelli (today His Holiness, Pius XII).

After his elevation to the cardinalate, Monsignor Tisserant left the direction of the Vatican Library, where for twenty-eight years he had served with extraordinary success. He was then ranked as one of the world's outstanding oriental scholars and a distinguished library administrator.

Eugène Tisserant's early training had admirably provided him with a love of books.[1] He was born in Nancy, France, on March 24, 1884, the son of Hippolyte and Octavie Connard Tisserant. He learned to read at the age of three. At seven he began the study of German and Latin in the school connected with the mother-house of the Sisters of Christian Doctrine of Nancy. A year later he entered the day school of Saint Léopold, where he was taught by diocesan priests. He attended the College of St. Sigisbert (1896–1900), earning the baccalaureate degree. During his last two years there, he also took courses at the School of Science of the University of Nancy.

In his free time Eugène read the science textbooks that his father, a veterinarian, had studied—physics, mechanics, chemistry, geology, and natural history. Between his tenth and eleventh year he had absorbed the historical studies of Adolphe Thiers and similar works. At that time his instructors loaned him juvenile books, French literary works not included in his courses, and the principal masterpieces of classical literature in French translation.

In 1894 his father inherited the library of two thousand volumes of his uncle, Eugène Tisserant, a professor in the Veterinary School at Lyons and young Eugène's godfather. Hippolyte Tisserant had, as a student in Lyons, lived four years with this uncle, a well-educated man, and his cultured aunt, Claire Furtin, the daughter of a librarian of Cluny. The beautifully bound volumes, which included French classics published by the Société des bibliophiles, the Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, and Bibliophile Jacob, revealed the fine culture of the collector and aided greatly in developing young Eugène's love of books.

Upon entering the Major Seminary of Nancy, at the age of sixteen, Eugène Tisserant was introduced into the library profession as one of eight student-assist-

[1] Many of the following data were obtained through correspondence with Cardinal Tisserant.

ants. Because he and another student lived in Nancy and could work at the seminary during vacations, they were given the supervision of a subscription library as an additional charge. This collection of several hundred books was circulated by mail to the diocesan priests and was known as the "Gorini Library." The Reverend Léon Jérôme, a professor of history, directed the 40,000-volume seminary library as well as the Gorini Library. A man who loved books and knew how to inspire others to love them, he gave bibliographical instruction on the great collections which every priest should know.

In November, 1903, although still a seminary student of dogmatic and moral theology, Eugène was assigned to teach physics to the students of the first year of philosophy. As a Nancy seminarian (1900–1904), he intended to specialize in the study of the Old Testament. He spent the summer vacation of 1904 working on books dealing with the Assyrian language and the ancient history of the peoples of the classical Orient. He continued his work on Holy Scripture during the scholastic year 1904–5 at the Biblical School of St. Stephen in Jerusalem. Utilizing the siesta periods, he made an intensive study of the collection in the excellent specialized library of this institution.

After a year of military service at Toul, Eugène became a student at the Catholic Institute in Paris (1906–8), where he prepared for a diploma in five Semitic languages: Hebrew, Syrian, Arabic, Assyrian, and Ethiopian. Simultaneously, he studied at the School of Living Oriental Languages, the School of the Louvre, and the School of Higher Studies of the Sorbonne.

In March, 1907, Pope Pius X, on the recommendation of Père Lagrange, O.P., head of the Biblical School in Jerusalem, offered the future pro-prefect of the Vatican Library two positions in Rome, that of professor of Assyrian at the University of St. Apollinare and that of custodian of oriental manuscripts in the Vatican. Henceforth, in Paris, whenever attendance at classes and preparation for examinations permitted, Father Tisserant gave himself to the study of Arabic manuscripts and became familiar with the catalogs of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. He spent a portion of his vacation in 1908 studying Latin paleography, using the manuals in the departmental archives of Meurthe-et-Moselle in his native city of Nancy.

After his arrival at the Vatican Library in October, 1908, his first duty, assigned him by the prefect, Father (later Cardinal) Franz Ehrle, was the preparation of a catalog of the Arabic manuscripts in the Borgia collection. When he had gained a general knowledge of the 275 manuscripts in this collection, he prepared a code of rules for their description, following as closely as possible the rules formulated by his colleagues for the description of Latin and Greek manuscripts.

In 1910 Father Tisserant agreed to compile for the Göttingische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften a union list of oriental translations of the Old Testament made from the Greek text of the Septuagint. These translations were found in several Italian libraries, among them the Ambrosian Library in Milan, where Monsignor Ratti (later Pius XI) was prefect. Monsignor Ratti welcomed Father Tisserant with great cordiality and made accessible the translations which he had come to examine. Until 1914 Father Tisserant worked on the manuscripts in the Ambrosiana one day each year: returning from his annual vacation in Nancy, he would stop for the

day's work at Milan between two nights on the train.

In 1912 Father Ehrle, then sixty-seven years old, asked Pius X's permission to train a successor and subsequently to retire. Monsignor Ratti, whom he recommended, was readily approved by the pope. It was agreed that, for a year, Monsignor Ratti would spend fifteen days a month at the Vatican Library and the remainder of the time continue as director of the Ambrosiana. In October, 1913, the new prefect took over the direction of the Vatican Library, and Father Ehrle retired to the Pontifical Biblical Institute, where he taught paleography.

Father Tisserant, who for several months had assisted in taking an inventory of the rare books in the fields of Scripture and orientalia, had experienced the difficulties occasioned by the lack of a central catalog of printed books. (There were, at that time, more than twenty separate catalogs of special collections.) Upon the arrival of Monsignor Ratti at the Vatican, Father Tisserant gave him a memorandum concerning the necessity of creating a central catalog of books and of establishing uniformity of entry. Lacking a staff of trained catalogers, Monsignor Ratti resorted to the expedient of transcribing on cards the entries from the former catalogs. Although the directions given to the copyists helped to eliminate some of the divergences of entry, the result was still far from a centralized dictionary catalog prepared by competent personnel. This monumental enterprise was to be launched more than a decade later through the impetus and subsidy of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

World War I interrupted Father Tisserant's work in the Vatican Library. He served as corporal in the infantry until he was wounded in September, 1914. The following two years he spent in the Office for the Near East in the General Staff section of the Ministry of War in Paris. In 1917 followed his appointment as assistant adjutant and quartermaster general of the French Expeditionary Forces in Syria and Palestine. Here his knowledge of the background and languages of the Near East made his services invaluable. He won the *Croix de guerre* and became Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur. These war years did not completely interrupt his scholarly pursuits. He was able to practice speaking Russian on a sojourn in Paris, to examine at Beirut a Syrian text containing fragments of the Book of Jubilees, and to decipher a few pages of a palimpsest of the Book of Job at the Patriarchate Library in Jerusalem.

When Father Tisserant resumed his post at the Vatican Library, in May, 1919, Monsignor Ratti was apostolic nuncio at Warsaw, and Monsignor Giovanni Mercati had replaced him as prefect of the Vatican Library. The new prefect obtained Benedict XV's permission in November, 1919, to have Father Tisserant serve as his assistant. Among the latter's duties were the supervision of personnel and the direction of the laboratory for the restoration of manuscripts, where the Coptic manuscripts of the Pierpont Morgan Library were to be treated. He also participated in the negotiations which resulted in the acquisition by the Vatican of several important collections: the Rossiana library, the Rospigliosi archives and library, and a collection of Latin Bibles of P. Vercellone. It was under his direction that, in January, 1923, the Chigi library, a gift of the Italian government, was transferred from the Chigi Palace to the Vatican. In the same year Monsignor Tisserant (in 1921 he had been appointed a papal chamberlain with the title Very Reverend Monsignor) visited the Balkans to purchase manuscripts and printed books.

His itinerary included Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and Greece. Through this effort was acquired an important collection of printed books and manuscripts which belonged to the great logothete of Phanar, Stavrakis Aristarchi.

These and other acquisitions added to the gigantic problem of storage which the Vatican Library administrators had long been facing. Limited ground space made horizontal expansion by additional building improbable, and, since the skyline of the historic buildings had not been modified for three centuries, vertical expansion was not considered. The vicissitudes of its various quarters in the Vatican form an interesting chapter in the history of the Library. In the time of Pius X a small section below the Lapidary Gallery had been turned over to the Library, and the printing shop moved from there to the former riding school of the Noble Guards, near St. Anne's Gate. The printing machines and type were being moved when Father Tisserant arrived to assume his duties in 1908. He welcomed the opportunity of putting the oriental type in order and developed new cases for it after he had had practice in setting up and distributing the type. With the removal of the printing shop, the Library acquired two large halls in close proximity to the reference room. The better of the two was converted into a new and larger manuscript reading-room; the other was set aside for the library of Cardinal Mai. New quarters, equipped with metal shelves, were provided for the manuscripts which had been housed in the Sistine Hall and Gallery since the time of Paul V. There, filed vertically on shelves in wooden cabinets, these parchments, the choicest possessions of the Library, had remained for three centuries.

The elevation to the papacy, in 1922, of the former prefect of the Vatican Library, Monsignor Ratti (Pius XI), justified hopes for additional expansion. Within the same year, Pius turned the private chambers of the Borgia apartments over to the Library. The acquisition of three important collections in the early years of his pontificate (the Rossiana, comprising more than nine thousand items; the Chigiana, with more than thirty-three thousand items; and the Ferraioli collection of more than forty thousand items) made the problem of storage acute. Toward the end of 1927 a happy coincidence permitted the extension of the Library into adjacent quarters, which for more than a century had been used as horse stables and living-quarters for grooms. Pius XI now decided to introduce motor transportation throughout the Vatican. The horses were sold and the stables converted into a stackroom three tiers in height (later increased to six tiers, when the mosaic factory located above the stables was moved).

The felicitous combination of circumstances which led the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to collaborate with the Vatican in the modernization of the Library for the benefit of scholars of all races, nationalities, and creeds is well known. That New World innovations met with such ready acceptance in an Old World library is attributable in no small measure to the clarity of vision and organizational power of Monsignor Tisserant, whom Dr. William Warner Bishop has characterized as "a thoroughly modern man."[2]

Early in 1926 the trustees of the Endowment delegated one of their members, Henry S. Pritchett, to acquaint Pius XI with their proposal to give financial aid to modernize the Vatican Library. He was presented to the librar-

[2] "International Relations: Fragments of Autobiography," *Library Quarterly*, XIX (1949), 282.

ian-pope by Monsignor Tisserant on May 10, 1926. They discussed the lack of a central catalog of printed books in the Vatican Library and the offer of financial help to establish this tool, so essential if the rich resources of the Library were to become readily accessible to scholars. Because the priceless collection of manuscripts has always been the distinctive feature of the Library, the collection of printed books, though excellent, has sometimes been considered a mere accessory. The late J. C. M. Hanson, one of the members of the bibliographic mission to Rome mentioned below, remarked after his return to the United States:

> We hear much of the truly wonderful collection of manuscripts, but comparatively little of the printed books. It is my impression that the Vatican has in its printed books, acquired through centuries, a most remarkable collection, the full value of which will be recognized only when they are adequately cataloged and classified. At present the task of ascertaining whether a given book is in the Library is so difficult that one hesitates to undertake it, and as for learning what the Library has on a particular subject, that is quite impossible, due to the absence of subject classification and catalogs, such as one finds in modern libraries.[3]

The trustees of the Endowment, through its president, Nicholas Murray Butler, sent Dr. William Warner Bishop in 1927 to study and report the condition of the Vatican Library. Mr. Bishop arrived in Rome in March, accompanied by Mr. Robert Wilberforce of the British diplomatic service. With Monsignor Tisserant these visiting experts made a thorough examination of the collections, the catalogs, and library quarters. Before leaving Rome, less than a month later, Mr. Bishop directed Monsignors Mercati and Tisserant to proceed with three undertakings: the preparation of an author index to the sixty thousand manuscripts, the compilation of a list of the seven thousand incunabula and communication of this information to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke,* and the organization of a central catalog of the printed books.

Invited by the Carnegie Endowment, Monsignor Tisserant accompanied Mr. Bishop to the United States. During his two and one-half months' sojourn here, he visited forty-two municipal, university, and special libraries. The article "Notes et impressions sur les bibliothèques d'Amérique"[4] concisely expresses his observations on the library scene in the United States and Canada. The thoughtfully planned effort to acquaint Monsignor Tisserant with American library practices, equipment, and ideals was a practical step in the modernization of the Vatican Library. Taking into account the increase in readers and books, he formulated a program which would insure its development for the next fifty years and, upon his return to Rome in midsummer, presented the document to Pius XI. Within the last twenty-four years, most of the recommendations in this long-range program have been implemented.

After consultation with American library administrators, Monsignor Tisserant successfully encouraged Pius XI to purchase steel catalog cabinets and stacks for the renovated stables. Five European firms (Italian, French, and Dutch) as well as Snead and Company, New Jersey, submitted plans and bids. Those of Mr. Angus Snead Macdonald were preferred by Monsignor Tisserant, but Monsignor Mercati was at first attracted to the plans of the Forges de

[3] T. W. Koch, "The Vatican Library, an Historical Approach," in Eugène Tisserant and T. W. Koch, *The Vatican Library: Two Papers* (Jersey City: Snead, 1929), p. 19.

[4] In *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 445–57.

Strasbourg. Pius XI decided in favor of the Snead equipment, and American stacks, never before imported for a European library, were ordered. Monsignor Tisserant supervised the erection of the three-tier, 260-foot stack, which was begun on August 24, 1927, and the construction of the new entrance to the Library from the Court of the Belvedère. Pius XI formally opened the new wing on December 20, 1927, the first day of his jubilee year, and on the following day made Monsignor Tisserant a domestic prelate, so pleased was the Pontiff with the achievement.

In meeting the problems of establishing a central catalog, the Vatican was aided by a group of experienced and distinguished American librarians. William Warner Bishop, Charles Martel, J. C. M. Hanson, and William R. Randall arrived in Rome on February 22, 1928. They were joined by Milton E. Lord, the librarian of the American Academy in Rome, and later by John Ansteinson, the librarian of the Technical Library at Trondheim, Norway. The first step to be taken was the establishment of a code of rules, based upon the Anglo-American code, yet adjusted to the special international character of the readers of the Vatican Library as well as to the code used in Italian libraries. Monsignor Tisserant devoted a great deal of time to working with the American librarians on the preparation of the code, which was published under the title *Norme per il catalogo degli stampati.*[5] While participating in its preparation, he also organized the printing of cards modeled on those of the Library of Congress. Four librarians of the Vatican at this time were sent to America (to the Library of Congress, Columbia University, and the University of Michigan) for library training.

At the same time that work was in progress on the central catalog of printed books, the general index of manuscripts was being prepared. Monsignor Tisserant took care to hire the twelve or fifteen collaborators on the project from among young persons who had received diplomas from Roman universities. Taking the inventory of manuscripts was an educational opportunity for them. Several of the women collaborators subsequently were able to secure positions in governmental libraries, thanks to this experience. After his appointment as pro-prefect in 1930, the Monsignor took over completely the direction of the general index of manuscripts and established the rules to be followed. He worked for several years on the revision of the cards. His successor and present prefect, the Most Reverend Abbot Anselmo Albareda, m.b., printed a code of rules under the title *Norme per l'indice alfabetico dei manoscritti.*[6] This code was an expansion and revision, in the light of experience, of the rules which Monsignor Tisserant had compiled for the direction of his collaborators during a period of ten years.

With full administrative responsibility delegated to him by Pius XI, the proprefect provided many physical improvements in the library quarters: in 1931 he constructed the three additional tiers of stacks in the vacated mosaic factory, furnished a new printsroom, and added equipment to the reading-room. The apartment of the prefect was completely renovated, and a stairway connecting the apartment with the manuscript stacks was installed. After the collapse of the Sistine Gallery in December, 1931, a new story was constructed, where the catalog

[5] Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1931; English ed., Chicago: American Library Association, 1948.

[6] Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938.

department for printed books found suitable quarters. Five years later Monsignor Tisserant provided an office for the librarian, new quarters and equipment for photographic services, and a new repair shop for the manuscripts.

Nor were his interests confined to the Vatican Library. Perhaps nothing illustrates better his genuinely catholic concern for the promotion of efficient libraries than his interest in the establishment at the Vatican of a library school, which was inaugurated during his pro-prefecture in the winter of 1934–35. The thirty students in attendance during the first year were taught by Dr. Igino Giordani and Dr. Nello Vian. The American-trained catalogers of the printed books began and continue to give the courses in cataloging and classification, reference and bibliography, and library economy. Specialists deal with the ancient bindings, prints, and incunabula. One of the objectives of the school is to secure intelligent direction in the preservation of historical and diocesan records and in the servicing of monastic and seminary collections. The students, the majority of whom are seminarians, represent many nationalities. Dr. Giuseppe Graglia, the present head of the Catalog of Printed Books Department and a professor in the Vatican Library School since 1938, in his article on "The Vatican Library during the War,"[7] noted that the

> Library School . . . continued its courses regularly during the first years of the war.[8] The number of students was approximately the same as during the years of peace [between seventy and eighty] because, while students from belligerent countries were missing, their places were taken by many young Jewish students who, having no hope of continuing their studies in universities because of the racial laws, enrolled in our courses, awaiting better times.

During his years in the Vatican Library, Cardinal Tisserant was a delegate to many conferences. In 1926 Pius XI sent him to the Congress of Archeologists at Beirut, and in 1928 and 1931 to the Congress of Orientalists at Oxford and Leyden. These occasions presented the opportunity to acquire desirable library items, such as the 850 manuscripts of P. Paul Sbath. The Cardinal's personal relations with American librarians as well as with ecclesiastics have been most cordial. A member of the International Library Committee, he was invited to Chicago in 1933 to deliver an address at the annual conference of the American Library Association.[9] On this occasion he visited Rosary College and spoke to the faculty and students.

In 1947, at the Princeton University Bicentennial Conference on Scholarship and Research in the Arts, he delivered an address on "The Vatican and Byzantine Studies."[10] In the company of President Truman and thirty-four other distinguished recipients, Princeton conferred on the Cardinal an honorary degree with the following citation:

> Eugène Cardinal Tisserant, Secretary of the Sacred Oriental Congregation of Rome—Distinguished scholar and eminent churchman, interpreter of early Christian documents, expert in the liturgical arts of the Eastern Rites, world authority on Oriental languages, master of manuscripts, knowing full well the ancient needs of scholars and the modern means for their greater satisfaction, he has helped to make the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana the most cooperative of all institutions of learning and by his ever-friendly response has earned the gratitude of scholars in many lands.[11]

[7] *Library Quarterly*, XVII (1947), 219–23.

[8] Classes were suspended from September, 1943, to November, 1945 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 223).

[9] "What the Preservation of Records of Scholarship Means to Changing Civilizations," *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, XXVII (1933), 569–72.

[10] Princeton: Princeton University, 1947.

[11] *New York Times*, June 18, 1947, p. 21.

During this, his third, sojourn in the United States, the Cardinal visited several libraries in the Chicago area. Mr. Carl H. Milam, then executive secretary of the American Library Association, arranged a reception for him in the new headquarters of the association. Participating in the program commemorative of the twenty-fifth year of Rosary College in River Forest, the Cardinal gave an address entitled "The Value of the Humanities in the Education of Women."[12] At the Mundelein College conference of the Catholic Library Association (Illinois unit) he discussed "The Work of Catholic Librarians and the Development of an International Outlook."[13] Three years later His Eminence toured the United States and Canada from coast to coast, visiting educational institutions and meeting with ecclesiastics of the oriental and Latin rites. In December, 1950, the Egyptian government invited him to Cairo for the anniversary celebration of the University Fuad and the Royal Egyptian Geographical Society. It was the first time that a prince of the Catholic church had been asked to be the guest of a Moslem government. He was treated with honor by King Farouk and by the sheiks of the Al Azhar University, the intellectual center of Islam.

An overview of the Cardinal's publications reveals that his most productive period extends from 1908 to his entrance into World War I. Among the four volumes and approximately thirty articles were *Ascension d'Isaïe*[14] (a translation of the Ethiopic version) and *Codex Zuquinensis rescriptus Veteris Testamenti.*[15] In 1910 and again in 1912 he visited the British Museum while compiling his *Specimina codicum orientalium.*[16] Unfortunately, Cardinal Tisserant's productive work was impeded by the demands of his administrative position in the Vatican Library. His personal services to its clientele often involved extensive research and hampered his own scholarly pursuits. From 1920 to 1936 he published only two works: a catalog of Armenian manuscripts, *Codices Armeni Bibliothecae Vaticanae,*[17] and one of Ethiopian manuscripts, in collaboration with S. Grébaut, *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani.*[18] Two other bibliothecal publications of the same period were: "L'Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits arabes du fonds Borgia à la Bibliothèque Vaticane" in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*[19] and an article entitled "Bibliothèques pontificales" in *Dictionnaire de sociologie,*[20] also published separately as a pamphlet. The latter he had hoped to develop as the first part of a guide for readers in the Vatican Library. His publications have been rare since his elevation to the cardinalate: one extensive article on the Syro-Malabares, which appeared in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique;*[21] a historical study entitled *Luigi Maria Grignion de Montfort, le scuole di carità e le origini dei Fratelli di San Gabriele;*[22] *Note sur la préparation de l'édition en facsimilé typographique du Codex Vaticanus;*[23] and a

[12] *Catholic Educational Review,* XLV (1947), 79–89.

[13] *Catholic Library World,* XIX (1947), 51–55.

[14] Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1909.

[15] Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1911.

[16] Rome: Pustet, 1914.

[17] Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1927.

[18] Vatican City: Bybliotheca Vaticana, 1935–36.

[19] (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1924), V, 1–34.

[20] (Paris: Letouzey, 1936), III, 766–82.

[21] (Paris: Letouzey, 1941), Vol. XIV, cols. 3089–3162.

[22] Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1943.

[23] *Angelicum,* XX (1948), 237–48.

collection of speeches, *L'Église militante.*[24]

Science has largely annihilated space. In spite of the development of new mediums of communication and the closer interdependence of peoples, war has not been outlawed, nor has peace been guaranteed. Today almost no contact exists between East and West; nations outside the Iron Curtain have only a superficial unity, based upon their fear of a common enemy. The need for real unity still obtains, even as it did in 1933, when the Cardinal closed his ALA Conference address by pointing out the librarian's obligation to foster the brotherhood of man through the preservation of cultural unity:

> Therefore, our task as librarians is similar to that of the priestesses of Vesta, to whom was committed the care of the sacred fire. And this is the reason why nothing is unworthy in our life if we consider our duty toward humanity; the protection of books against beetles, repairing ragged parchment fragments, the erection of new bookstacks or building new reading rooms, as well as cataloging or labeling—all are noble, if we feel that we are helping humanity in its trend toward that spiritual unity which would be the result of unity of culture.[25]

[24] Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1950.

[25] "What the Preservation of Records of Scholarship Means to Changing Civilizations," *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, XXVII (1933), 572.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE OR ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD?

STEPHEN A. McCARTHY

WRITERS on the administration of the college or university library commonly give some attention to the library committee, council, or board, as it is variously designated in different institutions. The functions usually assigned to the committee or board include liaison between the faculty and the library administration, formulation of policies for the development of the book collection, advice in the allocation of book funds, and long-range planning for library development. The typical point of view is that the committee or board should have advisory power only.

The fear is expressed or at least suggested that, if the board has more than advisory power, it will concern itself in an undesirable way with the internal and detailed administration of the library. Coupled with the fear of meddling by board members is the stated or implied assumption that wherever you find a library board with more than advisory power you will, of necessity, find a weak, ineffective, and inefficient librarian. The implication seems to be that no librarian worthy of the name would or should consider working in an institution in which the organizational plan provides for a library board with administrative and legislative authority.[1]

This view of the faculty library committee may have its origin in observations of institutions in which the situation was clearly an undesirable one and in which the evils noted were to be found. The same view, in effect, has been expressed by some librarians who, although their institutions have library committees, prefer not to hold meetings of the committees or, when those meetings must be held, arrange to read extensive reports which completely fill the allotted meeting time. Under such circumstances the committee is an empty formality which has no significance for either the librarian or the members of the committee.

Miss Elizabeth Kientzle has recently surveyed certain administrative aspects of a selected group of college libraries in the Midwest. She reaches the following conclusions, among others:

> Library committees serve primarily in an advisory capacity; few of them have responsibility for administrative functions.
>
> Library committees are least useful when they intrude in library administration and are most useful when they limit themselves to consideration of general policies and to specific means by which the library might better serve the entire institution.[2]

Miss Kientzle's conclusions thus corroborate the principles which have been laid down in the past. They lead her to this final sentence: "If the library committee is no more than the vestigial remains of a forgotten era in librarianship, whose duties can be better performed by others,

[1] Cf. Guy R. Lyle, *The Administration of the College Library* (2d ed.; New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1949), pp. 47–52; William M. Randall and Francis L. D. Goodrich, *Principles of College Library Administration* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1936), pp. 28–29, 83–85; Louis Round Wilson and Maurice F. Tauber, *The University Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 31–32.

[2] Elizabeth Kientzle, "The College Librarian and the College Library Committee," *Library Quarterly*, XXI (1951), 120–26.

then there is no reason for its continued existence."

It is the position of this paper (1) that, if library committees or boards in colleges and universities have become vestigial, the library has suffered a serious loss; (2) that the loss of this governmental instrumentality is to be ascribed to the inability of librarians to appreciate its value and to use it effectively; and (3) that one of the chief contributory factors to the decline of the library committee has been the general insistence that it be advisory rather than administrative.

The distinction between these two terms should be made clear: advisory committees or boards do not have final authority or responsibility, but they do have the power to study, investigate, plan, and make recommendations; administrative boards have full authority and responsibility, and, in addition to the functions of the advisory group, they have the further responsibility of determining policy and of seeing that it is put into effect. There are several further points to be noted about the administrative board: the first is that its authority and responsibility are those of the unit, not of individual members; the second is that, since obviously a board cannot function in the daily operation of the library, the executive or, in a sense, the administrative function of carrying out established policies is delegated to the librarian. If these points are clearly understood and observed both by board members and by the librarian, the difficulties suggested by writers on college and university library administration may be minimized, if not eliminated.

A sampling of the textbooks on public administration shows a rather general adherence to the view that boards with administrative authority are undesirable agencies of government. The experts see in the board a slow and cumbersome administrative device: authority divided or fragmented and unable or unwilling to function effectively; individual responsibility shirked or lost in the group; and board action inconsistent with a body in which responsibility is clearly lodged with a single responsible individual. Many examples of the failures attributable to board organization in government are cited by these writers on administration. There is no disposition here to attempt to controvert this view.

Some students of administration see in the administrative board a useful device for the administration of an agency dealing with various groups representing different interests. In such cases it is allowed that a board having more than advisory power may be desirable. Such a board is, first of all, the policy-forming body of the agency, and, secondly, it is responsible for seeing that the interests of all groups are served to the fullest possible extent. Naturally, at times it will be necessary to reconcile conflicting interests. There is reason to believe that this can be done more equitably by a representative group of those directly concerned than by a single individual. Clearly, the actual operation, the day-to-day executive or administrative functions, can be performed only by an administrative officer who represents the board and acts for it.

In the administration of private business, as opposed to that of public agencies, the board has an important place. The board of directors of a corporation certainly has more than advisory power; yet, at the same time, it is not engaged in the daily management of the business. The board of a corporation functions in the manner indicated above: it determines policy; it represents various interests; it authorizes, validates, and reviews

many of the decisions of management; but it does not try to operate the enterprise.

It seems possible that, in studying the governing structure of the college or university library, an analysis of the authority and functions of the board of directors of a corporation may furnish a useful guide. It appears that this approach has not been used in the past but, rather, that attention has been focused on what was considered good theory and practice in public administration. The functions of boards of directors of corporations, as described by Baker in his *Directors and Their Functions*, are as follows:

a) The board selects the chief executive and senior officers and makes certain that able, young executives are being developed. Also the board controls executive compensation, pension, and retirement policies.

b) The board delegates to the chief executive and his subordinate executives authority for administrative action.

c) The board discusses and approves objectives and policies of broad corporate significance, such as pricing, labor relations, expansion, and new products, as well as payment of dividends, changes in capital structure, loans, lines of credit, and public relations.

d) The board checks on the progress of the company not only as to immediate profits but also as to the discharge of its trusteeship responsibilities. Budgets, reports, inspections, and other controls aid directors in carrying out this function. They serve as the basis for the directors' most effective approach, which is to ask discerning questions from an independent outside point of view. Also, directors arrange for, control, and follow up outside audits and in general maintain vigilance for the welfare of the whole enterprise.[3]

Many of these specific duties do not apply to a library in a college or university; if, however, for the objectives of a corporation the objectives of a university library are substituted and if these objectives are then translated into terms of book collections, services, facilities, and personnel, they would seem to have considerable applicability to college and university libraries. Through this arrangement, centralization of executive authority and responsibility in management is achieved, yet the over-all guidance of the enterprise in the public (i.e., the university community's) interest is assured through the active control exercised by a group of lay members drawn from the community. These board members come from different divisions of the institution, but as a board they act for the benefit of the entire institution, not for the particular division to which they are attached.

Baker, in his study, states that "there are at least four major variations in the way effective boards function on different questions. . . . The four types of procedure are indicated by the key concept of what the boards of directors do: *decide, confirm, counsel, review*."[4]

It would seem that these key words, as well as the more formal statement given above, disclose a broader area of activity than has normally been considered possible or appropriate for a library board. The alternatives have been advisory or managerial, and little effort has apparently been made to examine the possibilities of the situation more closely in an effort to distinguish other useful activities, which, if not developed, may leave important gaps in the organizational structure of a university library. Such gaps, in turn, may permit the development of weaknesses which might otherwise be avoided.

Before it can be shown how the functions ascribed to directors of corporations can be applied in a university library administrative organization, two points deserve comment. The first is concerned

[3] John C. Baker, *Directors and Their Functions* (Boston: Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, 1945), pp. 131–32.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

with the effectiveness of advisory groups. There are instances in which advisory power has been used skilfully and effectively; in fact, situations exist in which advisory power may become tantamount to legislative or executive power, in that the organs of authority are guided and controlled by an advisory group. But such situations arise rather infrequently. Much more commonly, advisory groups can express their views and hope to affect the action of legislative and executive authority; they do not command the prestige and influence which assure that their views will prevail. It would appear that this is the status of most library committees having advisory power only. If this comes to be the accepted status of the committee, as understood by committee members, the library administration, and the university administration, then indeed "the library committee is no more than the vestigial remains of a forgotten era in librarianship," to quote Miss Kientzle.

It may also be questioned whether there is any analogy between the board of directors of a corporation and the library board of a university. The view may be advanced that, since the objective of a corporation is profit and the objective of a university library is library service of high quality, there is no point in trying to apply to one what is appropriate only to the other. Furthermore, although there are many small corporations, it is true that the rather clear-cut pattern of functions of directors will more commonly be found in the larger corporations. Such enterprises are so large and complex that they dwarf not only a university library but the university as well. The conclusion then might be that it is unreasonable to carry over an administrative device from a large and complex organization to a much smaller one and expect it to work satisfactorily. Such a device might be more elaborate and more detailed than the smaller enterprise would warrant.

This may be a sound objection, but I am disposed to question it. I think that many of the same purposes are to be served in the smaller organization and that, though the need for frequent meetings and long agenda will not exist, the variety of problems to be dealt with may be sufficiently broad in scope to warrant the use of a similar administrative device.

The reasons why boards of directors of corporations have, and must have, more than advisory power are clear. Perhaps some of the reasons why library boards should also have broader powers may be noted and discussed briefly.

The faculty should be deeply concerned about the quality of the book collection, of the services, and of the facilities of the university library, because these materials, facilities, and services are intimately connected with the success of their teaching and research. If faculty members are so concerned, they will accept a share in the responsibility for providing them. They will accept this participation the more readily if appointment to the board carries a full measure of responsibility. Directors of corporations in many instances recognize not only a profit responsibility but a fiduciary responsibility as well. Presumably, one might expect a similar twofold responsibility on the part of a university library-board member, with "profit" translated to mean materials, services, and facilities required by the individual faculty member.

Directors, it must be recognized, frequently do not bring the point of view of an expert to the problems with which they deal. They, or some of them at

least, are expected to represent the layman's point of view, to ask penetrating questions, and to bring to the board some specialized knowledge, such as finance, which is deemed useful to the corporation. This would appear to be a prescription for an ideal library-board member in a university.

Although it is by no means new, there is perhaps more general recognition now than there was some years ago of the necessity of securing support for administrative action from those affected by it. Administration by consent is frequently found in government and in business, as well as in universities. Its importance has been learned through bitter experience. In this respect, an administrative board can perform a highly important function for a university library. It can help to test and modify proposed administrative action, if necessary, and it provides a forum in which the full background of administrative action may be presented and discussed. When the decision to act is taken, the university community's acceptance of the decision is more readily secured because the decision is that of its own representatives.

The competition for available funds in most universities is strenuous. There is good reason to expect that the competition will become increasingly severe as demands for personnel, facilities, and services grow and as income fails to keep pace. The library must expect to compete for its funds; it can hardly do otherwise. Yet the library is a service agency; its purpose is ancillary; it does not seek its ends (even such noble ends as a stronger book collection, a more competent staff, or more adequate facilities) *for itself*. It seeks these things in order to strengthen the teaching and research work of the university of which it is a part. Because in this respect the library is unique, it is important that the presentation of its budget recommendations be the responsibility not of a single individual (the librarian) but, rather, of an administrative board, conscious of its responsibility and determined to press its claims to the utmost. Such a board, working as the group charged by the university with the chief responsibility for the library's welfare, can have a very effective voice in determining the kind of support which the library will receive. As such, the board speaks for the users—the consumers—and does not labor under the handicap of apparent self-seeking.

Although the foregoing arguments in support of an administrative board do not exhaust the case, they are the chief reasons for it, and most other arguments are comprehended under one or another of them.

Turning to a consideration of Baker's key concepts or key words with reference to what boards of directors do, we may now try to determine their applicability to the library board in a university.

Decide.—The area of decision for a library board clothed with administrative authority is as wide as that of the board of directors of a corporation, i.e., the board may concern itself with any aspect of the library's operation. A library board which understands the nature of its functions will not, however, interfere with the details of internal management any more than a board of directors will, unless there is trouble. If a bad situation arises, the board not only can but should step in. A library board led by an able chairman can concern itself usefully with matters appropriate to its sphere and its mode of operation and, functioning in this manner, may perform a service which is not provided by any other means.

Among the subjects on this plane on which a library board might well reserve the power of decision are the following:

1. Determination of broad, general policies of operation, particularly as they affect faculty and students
2. Questions relating to new or additional library space or buildings
3. Relationships among department and college libraries and between these branch libraries and the central library
4. Determination of policies to be followed in the preparation of the budget and in the allocation of book funds
5. Final authority regarding major purchases or major purchasing policies

Confirmation.—The second function noted by Baker may be exercised less frequently in a university library than in a corporation. Under certain circumstances, however, it might tend to include some of the matters noted above as areas of decision. For present purposes, the following items may be considered suitable for confirming action by the board:

1. Proposed budget requests
2. Proposed book-fund allotments
3. Solutions for various service problems as developed by the administration of the library and tentatively adopted or proposed for adoption

Counseling.—The third function of directors is one which library-board members can and do fulfil regularly. Advice on all sorts of library problems can be provided by individual board members between meetings, and the reactions of board members may be sought as a sampling or testing device. The special knowledge of individual board members may frequently be drawn on in this way and their assistance secured in dealing with a variety of problems, some of which may never be formally presented to the board.

While it is true that this kind of informal advising can be secured from individual faculty members of a university without the device of a library board, there is some reason to believe that advice is more carefully given when a sense of responsibility is associated with it, such as board membership entails. This is not to imply that sound advice comes only from board members but, rather, to emphasize the importance of the trusteeship principle. Furthermore, after some experience on a library board, a faculty member comes to have a better knowledge of the library and its problems than does the average professor. This combination of experience plus the lay, or public, point of view makes the counseling of library-board members especially valuable.

Review.—The function of review occurs normally through the study and criticism of annual and special reports. It is entirely appropriate to a university library board and will take place naturally, if any opportunity for it is given. It can be assured if reports are distributed in advance of meetings and if appropriate items from the reports are included in the agenda.

Lest the conclusion be drawn from the foregoing that the librarian in such a situation has abdicated, it may be useful to recall that this is precisely the way in which many corporations function, although no one concludes that the management of these corporations has retired from the scene. On the contrary, it is very much in evidence and takes a very important part in the deliberations and decisions of the board. The same may be true in a university library situation. The librarian controls the selection and timing of matters submitted for board consideration and the manner in which these subjects are presented. Although any board member may propose topics for

the agenda, the librarian is normally in a position to determine the major items for consideration. The manner of presentation, the care with which problems are analyzed, and the soundness of proposed solutions are almost entirely the librarian's responsibility. Both these matters are of the greatest importance in the satisfactory conduct of business with an administrative board. Mistakes in judgment in placing items on the agenda may invite unwarranted interference in internal management; faulty analyses of problems and proposed lines of action that have not been carefully thought out may lead to a lack of confidence in the administrator. Probably much of the dissatisfaction with library boards and committees in universities and colleges has been caused by the librarian's failure to handle the business of board meetings skilfully.

The composition of the library board presents some of the same problems as does the composition of a board of directors. Management must be represented in each case, and it is perhaps not of great importance, so far as a library board is concerned, whether or not this is a voting membership. There is a difference of opinion regarding the number of internal directors that a corporation should have, but in most cases the chief administrative officers are board members. Applied to a university library board, this practice would mean the inclusion of the librarian's principal assistants, and there would seem to be good precedent for extending board membership to these library officers. Perhaps of greater importance, however, is representation from the central university administration. Such representation in the person of the president, the academic vice-president, or the provost is highly desirable; indeed, if it is provided, the library can be assured of a type and quality of understanding in the top echelon of the university administration which can seldom be achieved in any other way. Such representation gives the library board an insight into general administrative policies and problems which enables it to perform its functions in a manner consistent with the general policies; such representation also furnishes an opportunity to present and discuss in some detail, with general board participation, the chief problems confronting the library. It may be objected that the same result can be achieved much more quickly and economically by personal conferences between the librarian and the president or his representative. Actually, this is not the case. The skilful and thorough presentation of problems before the board, the expression of opinions by faculty members as well as by the librarian, and the resolution of different points of view all add up to something more than a personal conference. This "something more" is worth the time and effort it takes to achieve.

There are, of course, problems and difficulties connected with this type of administrative organization, as with all administrative arrangements. Obviously, the kind of procedure outlined here is slower and more cumbersome than direct administrative action by the librarian or by the librarian and president. This is seldom as serious an objection as it might seem. For one thing, although by this procedure more time may be required to reach a decision and a policy, the decision, when reached, and the policy, when adopted, tend to be sound and their initiation and maintainance to present less difficulty than do actions and policies adopted after less careful scrutiny. Furthermore, if the president or provost is chairman of the board, decisions can be

made quickly in emergencies and the entire matter submitted to the board for confirmation at the first opportunity.

Critics of administrative boards have maintained that authority and responsibility tend to be divided in such a way that no one exercises authority or discharges responsibility. Such a situation may arise but need not, as we can see from the analogy of the corporation. Both management and the board of directors have their respective roles of authority and their areas of responsibility; neither necessarily invalidates or vitiates the other; there is more than enough for both to do, each operating in its own appropriate area. The same may be true in a university library organization. The librarian is held fully responsible for getting results within adopted policies; he is expected to initiate policy; he is required to analyze problems and propose solutions; and he bears, in relation to the board, much the same relationship as does the president or manager of a corporation to the board of directors. If he is not reasonably successful in meeting the tests of developing and maintaining this relationship at a satisfactory level, a change is in order.

The administrative-board form of organization places on the librarian the same kind of task which corporation management assumes. Complex problems must be analyzed, and proposed solutions must be presented with clarity and brevity. These presentations must withstand, at times, rather severe questioning, and the required answers must be produced, or action cannot be taken. Because the inquiries come from several board members rather than from one person and because various approaches may be employed, this kind of scrutiny is frequently more searching than the questioning which a single administrative officer might undertake. There is no disposition to make light of this procedure. The view may be advanced, however, that this course of action can result in more thorough analysis of problems and more careful formulation of proposed policies. If it does so, the procedure is justified.

In the relationship between library board and librarian, as envisaged here, there is always the possibility of disagreement on questions of major policy. Perhaps, on certain occasions, such an outcome is unavoidable. However, the librarian can often deal tactfully with issues on which there is a serious difference of opinion, by taking the time and trouble to insure a full understanding of the problem and by timing its appearance on the agenda. Relatively little experience is required to demonstrate the importance of timing in human affairs. Proposals that were once unthinkable may gain common acceptance at a later date. Members of administrative boards have the same ability to change their minds as do other people, and it is, of course, part of the librarian's job to assist and promote some changes.

Administrative boards, like other human agencies, may sometimes include members who are inclined to be meddlesome. Again, it is part of the librarian's job to deal with the situation. If a suggestion is good, it should be adopted with thanks. If it is dubious, it should be presented to the full board. The manner of presentation and the recommendation of the librarian should help to convey to the meddler the inappropriateness of his interference.

These are by no means all the problems or difficulties of this type of administrative organization, but they are the ones most commonly ascribed to it.

While they do not all admit of easy and sure solutions, they are not insurmountable.

The question may well be asked: Does any such library board exist? So far as I am aware, the answer is "No," although there are perhaps some library committees and library boards which may function in a manner similar to the one delineated.

In most universities, as in other institutions, there is an understandable tendency to concentrate administrative authority in the hands of individuals. As applied to the library, such a development may have advantages, but it has also the possible disadvantage of isolating the library from the faculty, thus cutting it off from that group which should have the greatest interest in it, which has the ability to give it valuable assistance, and which can furnish its strongest supporters.

There is little likelihood of reversing the general trend, whatever one's opinion of it. It is more useful to consider how some of the advantages of the board-management relationship may be secured or retained. The most obvious way is to try to develop between the librarian and the existing library committee or board the kind of relationship and method of operation described above. In most institutions this can be done if the librarian is interested and skilful in planning and guiding the operation. In this way, even without legal status, a library board or committee can be developed into the valuable and useful instrument that it was intended to be. A second way in which desirable administrative procedures and devices might be introduced is for librarians and writers on library administration to broaden their horizons and explore the techniques of other fields. Business and government are constantly developing new administrative methods and adapting old ones to new uses. Many of them may have significance for university library administration.

TIMOTHY COLE AND THE *CENTURY*

JULIA SABINE

IT WAS the present author's good fortune to find in the autograph collection of the Newark Public Library, as a part of the Whittle gift, a series of unpublished letters from Timothy Cole to George Whittle, his immediate superior at the *Century Magazine*, giving details of his work, its difficulties, and its successes. These, together with material from the "Century Collection" in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library, give an unusual picture of a particular phase of the workings of an important magazine in American history, a magazine which influenced the makeup and contents of many of the other periodicals and reviews of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Frederick W. Coburn wrote, on Timothy Cole's death, in the *American Magazine of Art:*

> White line wood engraving (not identical with the art of the wood cut, based on the black line) is by general admission the one supreme American achievement in the fine arts. . . . Our great wood engravers of the 1880's and 1890's developed an art without parallel or precedent. It had only a brief efflorescence. The half-tone process put its practitioners out of business, one by one, until in the 1920's Cole, greatest of them, was left to continue his masterpieces.[1]

Knowing Professor Butler's enthusiasm for woodcut illustrations of artists like Thomas Bewick, the present author thought a study of wood-engraved illustration in its most typically American phase a worthy tribute to him. Unless otherwise noted, quotations from Timothy Cole's letters in this article are taken from the collection in the Newark Public Library.

THE APPRENTICE

In 1857, five-year-old Timothy came with his parents and his brothers to New York, where the family settled in "a little house and garden within a stone's throw of the ferry," as he described it later in his recollections. Two years later, the mother died and the children were scattered. Little Timothy and his younger brother were placed in an institution for half-orphans. Here Louis Adolphus died, but Timothy survived and, at the age of twelve, returned to live with his father. Despite financial difficulties, Timothy's father, a hatter, managed to allow him to continue in school, where he began to show an aptitude for drawing and copying pictures. Since he also showed skill in writing and in doing maps, the schoolmaster suggested that he be apprenticed to a lithographer.

When Timothy was sixteen, his father decided to move to Chicago, following the advice of another hatter, who had had some success in that city. No sooner had they moved there than they began the search for a lithographer in need of an apprentice. In hunting for a lithographic establishment, father and son came upon the shop of Bond and Chandler, wood engravers. Casually, they decided to see whether an apprentice was needed. Timothy was immediately accepted for a term of seven years and began to learn the trade which he was to raise to the heights of an art during his lifetime. While Timothy was learning the

[1] November, 1931, p. 423.

mechanics of wood engraving, he followed the advice of a fellow-apprentice and spent some months drawing from the antique at a free evening art school.

After two years of apprenticeship, Timothy had progressed to the point where his employers assigned him the most precise linework. However, the dull subjects bored the young man, and he thought seriously of giving it all up and making a career in music, which, up to this time, had been only a pleasant avocation.

But the great Chicago fire of 1871 intervened. With the city desolated and business disrupted, Timothy found himself released from his apprenticeship at Bond and Chandler and free to try somewhere else. There was nothing to hold the Coles in Chicago. Young Timothy preceded his father to New York, where he hoped to get employment as an engraver. For a while he had no success; then he met Horace Baker, of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*. Baker introduced him to men on *Hearth & Home*. He worked there for a few months, then was discharged. The precision of his work, however, had been noted by editors of the *Scientific American*, who engaged him to reproduce drawings of machinery on a piecework basis.

Since the young man was no longer confined to office hours, he had time to do some experimenting. He employed an artist to copy Ludwig Knaus's painting "May Blossoms" on a block. This he engraved in the usual style of the day and sold to the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, where it was reproduced in the issue of May 4, 1872. The art manager of this magazine, Mr. C. J. Whinney, discovering that young Cole wanted to try his hand at engraving portraits, employed him to do several.

Because of his work for this magazine, Cole began to get other commissions. He did some work for the *Boston Art Journal*, then was requested to do some engravings for the *Aldine Press*. His work for the *Aldine* continued until the building which housed this magazine burned. In the meantime, Cole had married Annie Carter, and their first son, Alphaeus, had been born. Family responsibilities caused Cole to seek employment at *Scribner's Magazine*, since he had been requested to engrave one trial block by Alexander W. Drake, the art editor. His first block, cut for Drake, was of a drawing by Charles S. Reinhardt, in which the engraver tried to render the variations of the pencil strokes as faithfully as possible. Reinhardt was delighted with the results, though other engravers were scornful. The basis for the schism between the old school and the new school of engraving was laid. The connection between Timothy Cole and Alexander W. Drake was established. A new epoch of wood-engraving technique for reproduction was beginning.

THE STATUS OF WOOD-ENGRAVING ILLUSTRATION

Before Cole's contribution to the technique of wood engraving can be appreciated, the common type of woodcut illustration of the period must be examined. Early engravers, such as Bewick, based their work on the so-called "black line." The artist's drawing was either made directly on the block or traced and transferred there. The engraver then routed out the background, depending on the thickness and thinness of his lines to suggest depth. A whole series of conventions grew up; certain lines cut in certain ways were considered to offer the best methods of representing tree bark, leaves, flesh tones, hair, and clothing. Though decorative, skilful, and vigorous in execution,

these engraved reproductions, even at their best, seldom approached the original artist's conception. At their worst, they became clumsy, inadequate distortions.

A great advance in accuracy of reproduction came with the development of a new method of printing a photographic copy of the original directly on the wood block, thus eliminating the hazards of transferring an artist's concept from one surface to another. Since the photographic process automatically reduced all color values to black and white, this new type of prepared block provided a new challenge to an inventive engraver.

Timothy Cole and some other engravers, such as Henry Wolf, Frederick Juengling, and Gustav Kruell, were emboldened to develop the "white-line" type of engraving. In this, the highlights and middle tones are picked out by the graving tools from the background, by the use of any kind of line, crosshatch, or stipple that seemed best to express the quality of the original. The ink from the printing-press roller then went onto whatever surfaces of the block had been left unworked. The resulting print shows tones which range from pure black through the various grays to the brilliance of the highlights. The engraver was freed to become an interpreter of an original rather than a craftsman using a set technique to suggest effects.

Timothy Cole himself expressed his views on the "white-line" engraving when he wrote: "Engraving is a means to an end and not an end in itself. . . . The lines or technique, in the first place, must be expressive of the thought in its original—must supplement its intent, and in the second place they must be, above all things, printable—for what otherwise do they amount to?"[2] Later in the same essay he touches on the essence of the difference between the two schools of engraving, when he speaks of the engraver as a "slave to the *ensemble* of the original."[3]

THE "CENTURY MAGAZINE"

Perhaps Timothy Cole might have found another outlet for his talents through the years, but his name and work are so connected with the *Century* that one without the other is almost inconceivable. Originally, the magazine, established in 1870, was published under the title of *Scribner's Magazine.* It was projected as a magazine to bring the best in art and literature and new developments in these fields to the American public. The new periodical was to challenge the supremacy of the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's.* The first editor was Josiah Gilbert Holland, a popular lecturer and correspondent of the day. Mr. Holland had an almost magic touch in laying down the general policies for publication. He seemed to know by instinct just what the reading public wanted, and his widespread fame as a lecturer attracted people to any venture with which he was connected. Though he died shortly after the first appearance of the periodical, his assistant, Richard Watson Gilder, was just the man to take his place. Gilder refined the policies governing the content of the magazine and stamped it with his own sure taste. As art editor, Alexander W. Drake, himself an engraver, was selected.

When, in 1881, a disagreement arose among the stockholders about the publication of a book, the matter was settled by the formation of the Century Company, empowered to publish both books

[2] A. V. S. Anthony, Timothy Cole, and Elbridge Kingsley, *Wood-engraving: Three Essays* (New York: Grolier Club, 1916), pp. 24–25.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

and magazines. The magazine was then continued under the title *The Century*, with Gilder and Drake still in their respective positions. Drake did not retire until 1914, and it is he who must be considered most responsible for the development of Timothy Cole's art.

Drake did everything he could to make his magazine the best-illustrated on the market. He engaged the most competent artists and engravers and encouraged them in their work. The printing was done by the DeVinne Press, which rose to the challenge and produced the superior presswork for which it is still remembered.

> Beginning in 1875, Drake had a most able assistant in the person of Timothy Cole who ultimately surpassed Drake himself as a wood engraver. Cole's beautiful reproductions of famous paintings, which accompanied the late W. C. Brownell's articles on art, made *Scribner's Monthly* [later the *Century*] easily the most artistic general magazine of its day.[4]

Richard Watson Gilder later attributed much of the success of the magazine to "its superb engravings and the era it introduced of improved illustration."[5]

Another tribute to the influence of the magazine is the following from an unidentified source:

> Never before by means of any art or device had the excellence of a great picture been carried by multiplied copies. In a country like ours, where galleries are few and worthy paintings rarely to be seen out of the great cities, the educational service of such art work as *Scribner's* [*Century*] is incalculable.[6]

The *Century* carried on for years, until in the 1920's it merged with the *Forum* and continued under this combined form until 1929. The magazine then appeared as a quarterly, until its suspension in 1930. Three years later the Century Company merged with D. Appleton and, more recently, with F. S. Crofts.

TIMOTHY COLE AT WORK

In the reorganization of the old *Scribner's* into the new *Century*, Alexander W. Drake kept his place as art editor and maintained close relations with those skilled engravers whom he was encouraging—Elbridge Kingsley, Gustav Kruell, Frederick Juengling, W. B. Closson, and Timothy Cole. Cole was beginning to get a reputation for fine work as a result of his engravings of portraits and of pictures by Edwin A. Abbey, Elihu Vedder, and others. For nearly six years Cole worked from photographs, until one day in 1883, as he submitted a block, he is reported to have said to Lewis Fraser, assistant in the art department: "Why don't you have me do these things from the original pictures instead of from photographs?"[7] Robert Underwood Johnson tells of the same incident in a slightly different way. Johnson was on the staff of the *Century* and reports that Fraser displayed a new proof from Cole, saying: "It is a crying shame that such ability should be wasted on a subject so unimportant; that man should be sent abroad to engrave the Old Masters."[8] However the project came about, the publishers decided to send Cole abroad for a full year to engrave old masters from the original paintings. Late in October, 1883, Cole sailed for France, leaving his family behind, as the separation was to be for a short time only. Thus

[4] Harry H. Peckham, *Josiah Gilbert Holland, in Relation to His Times* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), pp. 192–93.

[5] Rosamond Gilder (ed.), *Letters of Richard Watson Gilder* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916), p. 100.

[6] Quoted in Algernon Tassin, *The Magazine in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1916), p. 289.

[7] Alphaeus and Margaret Cole, *Timothy Cole: Wood Engraver* (New York: Pioneer Associates, 1935), p. 36.

[8] Robert U. Johnson, *Timothy Cole* ("Academy Publications," No. 77 [New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1932]), p. 91.

modestly began the work which was to continue for a little over twenty-six years and which would expand to include the Italian, Dutch, English, Spanish, and French schools of painting.

The first block to be sent back to the *Century* was of Botticelli's "Madonna and Child" in the collection of the Louvre. The next was the "Mona Lisa." Both these subjects he re-engraved later, since he did not consider that they maintained the high standard of the rest of the Italian series. Cole reported to Fraser, in a letter of May 20, 1884, that he had spent fifteen days on the "Mona Lisa."[9]

Through the years in Europe, Cole gradually refined his method of working. The photographs of the painting were worked over in front of the painting to verify and clarify the relation of one tonal mass to another. The actual cutting of the block, which had been prepared with a corrected photographic print, came next, and then the retouching of the block, with constant reference to the original picture. The wood block was then sent to be electrotyped, so that there would be a surface substantial enough to withstand the pressure of printing rollers throughout the whole run of copies needed for the magazine. (Wood blocks by themselves are too subject to the variations of atmosphere and to torsion and warping to be used for anything but short runs and proofs.) A very slight amount of correction could then be done on the electrotype to preserve the brilliance and delicacy of the wood block. The completed block was then ready for the printers.

Timothy Cole was constantly on the alert for better methods of work; but he always kept the requirements of magazine publication in mind. The success of his first engravings was so great that the editors of the *Century* decided to send him to Italy to do a series there which could be republished in book form with the notes of W. J. Stillman. In 1884 he went south to Italy to start "work, actual work and no humbugging about it." In a letter of March 27, 1886, written from Florence, he declares that he has perfected a method of engraving that overcomes the poor facilities in the galleries:

> My latest discovery in engraving on wood makes it possible for any one who can draw to engrave (i.e. ordinary method for magazine printing) the method is adapted better for original work, engraving white on black, one can engrave now at arm's length like an artist paints.

In his first enthusiasm, Cole thought he could produce two blocks a month, and he had engaged to send back at least fifteen blocks during the year. But, with the wonders of Florence before him and a profound sense of his own duty in reproducing their beauties, plus the genial company of artists like Wyatt Eaton, Cole found himself behind in his quota and going into debt to the magazine. All through the series of letters, we find the artist continuously bewailing his inability to supply the blocks as fast as he should, his difficulties with cracking or warping of the wood blocks, and the shortness of daylight hours by which to work.

With all the varieties of paintings in Italy, Cole could experiment with his technique as much as he wished. However, he found that some of the delicacy of his work did not carry over in the printing of the pages of the magazine. On May 14, 1891, he wrote to Whittle:

> The process effect is due to the *printing* because the lines cannot be printed with the blackness that I see them on my block. . . . I find that a certain degree of coarseness is absolutely necessary to obtain a black line, therefore there is a limit to fine cutting. . . . One is apt to forget

[9] Cole and Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

that the printed proof will be but a dull affair compared with it. . . . Harmony in his texture is as absolutely necessary as harmony of coloring. I say *go in for proper values in black & white and all things also will [be] added.*

And again, on May 18, he elaborates on his method:

Upon the retouching depends the subtle blending of tints and the strengthening of the forms of masses of light and shade and also the expression of faces—that most subtle and fleeting thing of all—. . . Two thirds of my time in engraving a block is spent in retouching. It will for instance take me a day to cut a hand and two more to retouch it sometimes five or six. tho' to be sure I endeavor ever and always to cut the thing as perfectly as possible first hand.

While busy with his engraving and with his family, who had joined him in Florence, Cole found time to make suggestions for the better presentation of his work in the magazine. To Fraser, on August 16, 1887, he details the difficulties of finding a subject by Duccio which would reproduce properly. To Scott, the treasurer of the *Century*, he wrote on November 2, 1888, to suggest dampening the sheets of paper after printing to remove the gloss. On December 2, of the same year, he protested to Robert Underwood Johnson about the cutting-down of a Mantegna block which marred its proportions.[10] Occupied, as he was, with his particular work, he consented to write the notes to accompany the engravings. The time spent in composing the notes naturally reduced his output of blocks, with resultant difficulties with the company. One of his letters to Whittle from Paris, dated March 20, 1897, expresses his despair at his relations with his employers:

I should like to respond worthily to your last kind letter but I have no heart for it, being desirous only of meeting the wishes of the Century people in the matter of blocks. They want a block by every mail while I find it impossible to get one every moon.

[10] New York Public Library, Manuscript Division, "Century Collection—Cole papers."

The following excerpts from his letters indicate the care with which Cole worked and the perfection at which he aimed. These are all addressed to George Whittle:

1898, January 17, Paris

. . . Thanks very much for the care and trouble you have been to in ordering the wood. I am sure the improved blocks will be of the greatest importance. It is but reasonable that if three hundred dollars are paid for each engraved block that the greatest care should be paid to the material. . . . I am sending the proofs back of the Duchess of Devonshire & child by Reynolds which Bauer so curiously altered in the printing of the face. How dreadful has been the printing of the Gainsboroughs! The Mrs. Siddons was quite another thing from the block. The jaw was cut square and sharp—the very thing I abominated in many reproductions—and all the delicacy flown away.

1898, May 8, Meudon

. . . The Pitt has a little light spot in the center of the forehead which is annoying. In the Japan proofs however it is not perceptable. I trust it is no defect in the electrotype and will not show up in the magazine. I feel it to be the best male head that I have done thus far.

1900, January 24, Meudon

. . . I should like to call your attention to some spots in the stippling of the Ulysses & Polyphemus near the boat that looks like bad electrotyping—As I have adopted a better method of stippling I shall not anticipate anything like this in the future.

1900, February 2, Meudon

. . . I was shocked to say the least upon opening the Century and seeing the green peppered margin to the Morland ["The Halt"]. . . . There is no reason in the nature of the thing for this departure from common sense, for the margin to an engraving is the paper left over upon which it was printed . . . a more villainous thing could not be conceived were it expressly designed.[11]

[11] This letter is indorsed by Whittle with the words: "Good for you, Cole. It is an abomination—I objected but was overruled."

1905, November 20, Brussels

. . . But as Mr. Drake wanted it as soon as possible I ventured to begin it, taking care to keep the temperature of the room cool and the block well wrapped up at night. But on the last day as I have said when I had entirely finished it, there came a change in the weather; a drying wind came up, blowing a gale for several days, and this had the effect of opening a fresh joint right down through the face of the saint . . . [Alonzo Cano's "St. Agnes"].

1908, August 25, Brussels

A face cut with a simple line is the most difficult thing in the world to print owing to the gradation in the line from thick to delicate sharp, the least deviation in the gradation of pressure will break up the expression. It's amazing to me and a source of continual astonishment, that they can print the things as well as they do, or that the electrotypes are done as well as they are.

1908, August 31, Brussels

On this block [Ingres's "Joan of Arc"] I worked incessantly for twenty-one days and closely confined myself to it not allowing myself the slightest relaxation except for meals and thought I did a pretty good thing; but now I've been working all over the block again and wondering in my soul how I could not have seen certain things that seem now so palpable.

In 1910 Timothy Cole and his wife returned to America, landing in Philadelphia, where their son Lucius was established. There were changes in America and at the *Century* offices. Richard Watson Gilder and Lewis Fraser were both dead. Competition from other magazines in the popular field was forcing the editors of the *Century* to reconsider the content of their periodical. However, they still felt the need to maintain the *Century*'s prestige in the art world and decided to publish an occasional block by Timothy Cole. The engraver was to cut blocks from masterpieces available in American and Canadian collections. Though no longer so bound to the *Century*, Cole continued to produce his beautiful work for that magazine. He also continued his lively interest in the best ways of presenting his work and made suggestions about color of ink and weight of printing. There is no slackening in his care about the details of his work.

1910, July 20, Poughkeepsie

. . . But those on Japan paper are all wrong and far too heavy—the printer having mistaken the spirit of the work . . . what is lost is the envelope of atmosphere that is so characteristic of Carrière.

1911, April 28, Poughkeepsie

I have scraped down the line [in a block of a subject by Millet, probably "Girl Sewing by Lamplight"] and am sure there will be no further trouble with it.

On May 14, 1914, he suggests printing the Rossetti "Pandora" with a dark-brown ink, "if it is printed delicately, tho' the original is in a grey or greenish tone or hue." He goes on in the same letter to suggest a possible subject: "The French painter Bougereau has done, you know, the *Madone de la Piété* of the Luxemburg, but this might be too sad, tho' it is certainly a magnificent work, *his best* and an excellent shape for the page."

The last block by Cole that appeared in the *Century* was an engraving of "La Finette" by Watteau, in the September, 1916, issue of the magazine.[12]

LAST YEARS

The brief flowering of the wood engraving for purposes of illustration was over. Mechanical means of reproducing original works of art had been improved and were less expensive for use in the popular magazines. Cole continued to make wood engravings for bookplates and for the short-lived *Art World*. Some of his larger blocks were printed and is-

[12] Ralph C. Smith, *The Wood Engraved Work of Timothy Cole* (Washington, D.C.: Privately printed, 1925), p. 83.

sued by Harlow and Company for collectors of the graphic arts.

The last years of Timothy Cole's life were filled with activity. He was honored by Dickinson College with an M.A. in 1912 and elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in June, 1913. While making his blocks for print-collectors, he wrote and lectured about his beloved art, worked in the garden of his house in Poughkeepsie, and entertained his many visitors. When he died in 1931, he left a legacy of over five hundred beautiful prints and the memory of a life devoted to the perfection of the art of wood engraving.

William Dana Orcutt pays Cole this tribute:

> Perhaps my old-fashioned fondness for the woodcut is a bit intensified by my admiration for the superb examples of the art preserved in the work of Timothy Cole. . . . No photograph can translate the value of a picture with absolute precision, nor can it convey to him who looks the true message of the artist. When I study a wood engraving by such a master as Timothy Cole, I feel that I am in actual touch with the artist himself. It is one artist being interpreted by another. A camera cannot interpret, for it possesses no understanding.[13]

This tribute by Orcutt should have pleased Timothy Cole, for he too had written that "to translate with skill is to create a new work of art."[14]

[13] William D. Orcutt, *Kingdom of Books* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1927), pp. 177–78.

[14] Timothy Cole, *Considerations on Engraving* (New York: William E. Rudge, 1921), p. 12.

ON THE VALUE OF LIBRARY HISTORY

JESSE H. SHERA

"Librarianship, as we know it, can be fully apprehended only through an understanding of its historic origins. . . . It is obvious that the librarian's practice will be determined in part by his historical understanding. . . . Unless the librarian has a clear historical consciousness . . . he is quite certain at times to serve his community badly."[1] Thus wrote Pierce Butler almost two decades before the Public Library Inquiry sought to assess the American public library through the application of the most approved techniques of sociological analysis. At first blush, Butler's insistence on the importance of historical awareness for an understanding of the role of the library in modern society might seem to be little more than an impassioned outcry of a spirit in protest against an age that has rejected the values of history—against a world which has come increasingly to believe that it, like Lot's wife, would suffer disaster if it were to pause, even briefly, for a retrospective glance. It is indeed true that, when Butler so emphatically enunciated his belief that librarianship could not fulfil its highest social destiny if librarians remained ignorant of the historical development of the library as a social agency, he was contradicting the popular trend. In the early 1930's American librarianship was striving, as it still is today, for professional respectability. There was a growing faith that librarianship had, or could be given, an intellectual content, and that content was sought in an ever growing corpus of principles and techniques for the manipulation, operation, and administration of library materials. This was the day of glory for the technicians in their white aprons, and everywhere attention was concentrated on process rather than on function.

In opposition to this excessive preoccupation with the techniques of library operations, Pierce Butler wrote his *Introduction to Library Science*. In this credo not only did he set forth a philosophic frame of reference within which librarianship could be seen as an integral part of the contemporary culture, but he argued strongly for a recognition of history as basic to an understanding of the library in relation to its coeval culture. Not only did he reveal that a knowledge of history is essential to the librarian's complete intellectual equipment, but he showed history itself to be the logical starting point for almost every inquiry into the nature and function of the library as a social agency.

This struggle to win for history a recognition of its importance as a constituent element in the emerging scholarship of library research has not yet been won; it has, in fact, lost ground with the increasing tendency to adopt, for research in librarianship, the methods of investigation of the other social sciences. In the rush of librarians to apply the form, if not the substance, of social science research to library problems, means have often been mistaken for ends, techniques have been employed without thought of their appropriateness, results have been

[1] Pierce Butler, *An Introduction to Library Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), pp. 81, 89–90, 101.

hastily interpreted, and the historical method has been all but trampled underfoot.

The purpose of the present essay is, therefore, threefold: (1) to examine again the contribution which history can make to an understanding of the role of the library in society; (2) to identify and isolate, if possible, the reasons for the decline in the importance of history as an aid to the better understanding of the library as a social agency; and (3) to indicate the future course which research in library history should take, if it is to justify the time and effort spent in its pursuit.

THE SOCIAL VALUE OF HISTORY

Before one can make a case for the justification of library history as an essential part of the intellectual content of librarianship, one must first attempt to determine the social utility of history itself. The writing of history is one of the oldest major forms of human literary activity, if not the oldest. This very fact of survival for so many centuries is in itself eloquent testimony of its social importance. Yet is is only within the last century or two that scholars have begun seriously to speculate about the specific values that history has to offer. Not content with the easy assumption that history, like virtue, is its own reward, many scholars have devoted countless hours to the re-examination of history, in the hope of extracting from it an apologia, an adequate justification, an answer to the question "What is history for?"

In the final analysis, all arguments in support of the social utility of history derive from the analogy between the memory of the individual and history as the collective memory of the group. An awareness of one's past is, for the individual, an essential part of the reasoning, or thinking, process. John Dewey, indeed, held that "thinking is a reconstructive movement of actual contents of experience in relation to each other."[2] Admittedly, societies lack the capacity of the individual for the automatic recall of past experience, and, in the absence of an organic memory that can store experiences and reproduce them when needed, the society must create its own group memory. Thus the habit of recording in some graphic form the accounts of past experience appears even among primitive societies. As this utilitarian history was developed and refined, it gave rise to a new kind of creative narration, in which concern with accuracy was united with the pleasure of knowing the past and retelling it for the benefit of others. "The general verdict of our Western civilization," writes Crane Brinton, "has been that a knowledge of history is at the very least a kind of extension of individual experience, and therefore of value to the human intelligence that makes use of experience. And certainly the kind of knowledge we have called cumulative—natural science—is committed to the view that valid generalizations must depend on wide experience, including what is commonly called history."[3]

But the purpose of history is more than recall. Memory is not enough. The simple narration of past events is insufficient unless it is supplemented with an active understanding that can draw from this reconstruction of the past a synthesis, a series of generalizations, that not only will give the past a living reality but will make of it a medium for the better understanding of the present. Without such interpretation, history degenerates

[2] John Dewey, *Essays in Experimental Logic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), p. 176.

[3] Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), p. 19.

to an empty antiquarianism pursued for its own sake. The late R. G. Collingwood supplied possibly the clearest explanation of the true purpose of history, when he wrote:

> *What is history for?* . . . My answer is that history is "for" human self-knowledge. It is generally thought to be of importance to man that he should know himself: where knowing himself means knowing . . . his nature as man. . . . Knowing yourself means knowing what you can do; and since nobody knows what he can do until he tries, the only clue to what man can do is what man has done. The value of history, then, is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is.[4]

Thus he derives his complete definition of history as

> . . . a science, or an answering of questions; concerned with human actions in the past; pursued by interpretation of evidence; for the sake of human self-knowledge.[5]

History, then, is a social science in the broadest sense, and the methods it employs are identical with the methods of the social scientists in so far as they can be practicably applied to the available historical data. The use of social science techniques in historical research is limited only by the peculiarities that inhere in the data of history itself.

But Clio is no mere stepchild of the social scientist; she is, in fact, a social scientist in her own right. The increasing attention which historians are directing toward the growth of institutional history—the history of business corporations, for example—the history of economic phenomena, and the historic impact of urbanization all testify to the historians' use of generalizations contributed by the other social sciences. The historian, in turn, contributes to the social sciences a check on such sociological generalizations. As Gottschalk has pointed out, the historian can serve the other social scientists in three ways: (1) by discovering historical cases that will illustrate and support social science generalizations, (2) by discovering cases that will contradict such generalizations, and (3) by applying social science generalizations to historical trends or series of similar or related historical events to test the validity of the former.[6] Hence "finding contradictions in and exceptions to social science generalizations is one of the ways the historian can best contribute to an understanding of society."[7] Not only, then, does the historian provide the other social sciences with data derived from his investigations, but his work supplies a check on the validity of their concepts. The social scientist who rejects as inconsequential the findings of history is as unscientific as the historian who pretends to write about past social phenomena or social behavior without knowing the findings of the social scientists in relevant fields.

THE SOCIAL UTILITY OF LIBRARY HISTORY

The writing of library history in the United States began, as was inevitable, with the long, tedious, and often uninspiring narration of the events, personalities, and circumstances surrounding the formation, growth, and development of individual institutions. These largely antiquarian biographies of libraries and librarians were an essential prerequisite to generalizations concerning the emergence of the library as an institutional form. Roughly three-quarters of a century was devoted to this kind of minute exploration of library history, years

[4] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

[6] Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 252.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

which brought forth such notable works as Quincy's *The Boston Athenaeum*, Mason's *The Redwood Library*, Johnston's *The Library of Congress*, Wadlin's *The Boston Public Library*, Lydenberg's *The New York Public Library*, and a host of less ambitious works. Biographies of librarians were less numerous and, on the whole, less successful; but here one might well mention Garrison's *John Shaw Billings*, Kingdon's *John Cotton Dana*, and the half-dozen useful little volumes in the "American Library Pioneers" series.

By the 1930's there had accumulated a sufficient body of these historical data to enable a few individuals to discern the broad general outlines of the emergence and development of the library as a social institution, to relate it to its contemporary social milieu, and to identify, in a general way, the forces that brought the library to its present state of development and shaped its institutional form. Thus Arnold Borden's speculations on the sociological beginnings of the American public library and Lowell Martin's observations on the public library as a social institution were carried forward in the more comprehensive investigations of Ditzion's *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* and the writer's *Foundations of the Public Library*. At the same time, the antiquarian approach was not entirely abandoned, and factual studies of individual libraries continued to be produced, many of them limited to unpublished theses sponsored by and carried out in the several library schools. Research in library history is, of course, far from exhaustive (it can, in fact, never really attain completion), but the available syntheses show the major lines of development that characterized the growth of the American public library and reveal it as a part of the process of institutionalization that is characteristic of our culture. One may, therefore, appropriately inquire into the value of these investigations and their true bearing on the practice of librarianship.

What is the real value of library history? Perhaps such a question can best be answered by describing certain situations in which a disregard of library history has resulted in confused thinking and much misdirected effort, consequences which eventually are professionally disastrous and socially regrettable.

THE ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT OF THE 1930'S

A quarter of a century ago librarians, inspired by the plans of the American Library Association for an "expanded program" of activities and eagerly seeking a promising cause with which they might ally themselves, seized with missionary ardor upon the newly invented term, "adult education." Though the phrase was new, the idea was at least as old as Benjamin Franklin's *Junto*. The social libraries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were voluntary associations of adults eagerly seeking "self-improvement." But the mortality rate of these organizations was high, in spite of the initial enthusiasm of their founders. The nineteenth century brought with it the lyceum movement, the mechanics' institutes, the literary societies, the associations for the education of the merchants' clerks, and the Chautauqua movement.

In 1925 William Jennings Bryan died in Chattanooga, Tennesse, within the very shadow of the unhappy Scopes affair, and with him went the Chautauqua movement, to which he had contributed so much of his vitality. By this time, too, the old Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was, for many people, little more than a childhood memory; *Acres of*

Diamonds had become almost legendary; and even the parent-institution, "simmering in the tepid lakeside sun," would hardly have been recognized by its founders, Vincent and Miller. Already the motion picture, the automobile, and even the radio were making the village get-together less and less important in American community life.

The death of the traveling Chautauquas in the last magnificent gesture of the Jubilee Year may have accentuated the rapidly changing pattern of American culture, but it did not mean that the popular urge for "self-education" had disappeared. If the brown tents of the Chautauqua had been stored away for good, their place was soon to be taken by the American Association for Adult Education and its forums, discussion groups, adult education councils, and directed reading programs.

All the aberrant manifestations of the urge for the intellectual growth of the adult directly or indirectly stimulated a temporary interest in the growth of library book collections. Many of the movements actively included libraries and library promotion as important segments of their operating programs. But even at a time when the public library was itself expanding rapidly in both number and size of collections, every attempt to associate the library movement with that of adult education met with conspicuous lack of success. Virtually every library that owed its existence to the initiative of the lyceums, the Chautauquas, or the literary circles died with the demise of the movement itself.

Yet this eagerness of librarians to ally themselves with a social movement so obviously less stable than their own reappeared with renewed vigor in the 1930's. In this recrudescence of the cultural urge the librarians were, as they had been in an earlier day, the willing, eager, and often misguided disciples. Everywhere librarians began the establishment of readers' advisory services, the formation of forums and discussion groups, the promotion or encouragement of adult education councils, the preparation of selected reading lists for "adult beginners." The American Library Association sponsored "Reading with a Purpose," and all turned to the "A Cube E" for hope, guidance, and inspiration. In scarcely more than a decade, the tumult reached its highest pitch when Alvin Johnson published his *The Public Library—a People's University*. Extremists even went so far as to argue that, if libraries were to play their proper part in adult education, they themselves would have to publish books especially suited to its needs.[8]

No one reflected that the very arguments advanced by Johnson, which then seemed so convincing, were almost identical with those employed a century earlier by Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, and others seeking to promote an incipient public library movement. No one turned back the pages of history to discover that for decades such arguments had fallen on ears that were almost totally deaf to such appeals. No one recalled that every attempt to associate the library with universal "self-improvement" had been conspicuously unsuccessful. No one reflected that attempts to associate libraries with Franklin's *Junto*, the lyceum movement, the self-help associations of mechanics' apprentices and mercantile clerks, the Sunday-school movement, and the literary and scientific reading circles had all failed to achieve permanence. The fact that the library has none

[8] James Truslow Adams, *Frontiers of American Culture* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 230.

of the attributes of "a people's university" bothered no one. In short, there was a universal unawareness of the fact that this entire program was a serious distortion of the historic role of the library in society.

Today the adult education movement, if not dead, is certainly suffering a lamentable malaise; but the popular faith in the self-education of the adult still persists, and, if there has been disillusionment concerning the efficacy of "reading with a purpose" and the generosity of Andrew Carnegie, faith has found restoration in the "American heritage" and the benevolence of Henry Ford.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY INQUIRY

When Robert D. Leigh and his associated experts in the social science disciplines began their "appraisal in sociological, cultural, and human terms of the extent to which the [public] librarians are achieving their objectives" and set out to assess "the public library's actual and potential contribution to American society,"[9] they unquestioningly accepted the time-honored assumption that "the major objectives of the American public library are . . . education, information, aesthetic appreciation, research, and recreation,"[10] and it was within this frame of reference that the Inquiry staff conducted its investigation. This was in itself a wholly unscientific procedure, but the Inquiry did not stop here. It made further assumptions which Mr. Leigh has stated as follows:

> From their official statements of purpose, it is evident that public librarians conceive of themselves as performing an educational task. The library, however, may also be thought of as a constituent part of public (or mass) communication: the machinery by which words, sounds, and images flow from points of origin through an impersonal medium to hosts of unseen readers and audiences. . . . And the public library's services to its patrons are in direct, though often unacknowledged, competition with the commercial media. One clue, then, to the discovery of the public library's most appropriate role in contemporary society is to see it against the background of the whole enterprise of public communication.[11]

Following this line of reasoning, Campbell and Metzner surveyed, for the Inquiry, the use made of the public library by the adult population in eighty selected communities. Their conclusion was that the public library is "failing to a considerable extent as an agency of mass communication and enlightenment."[12] It is their opinion that "the library suffers from being a quiet voice in an increasingly clamorous world" and "there is reason to believe that through broader services and a more active information program this fraction of the population (which it now serves) could be considerably increased."[13]

Mr. Leigh and his staff of social scientists must have taken some passing notice of the history of the American public library. In fact, Oliver Garceau devotes the opening chapter of his *The Public Library in the Political Process* to a historical consideration of "The Foundations of Library Government." But they could

[9] Robert D. Leigh, *The Public Library in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 3.

[10] American Library Association, Committee on Post-war Planning, *A National Plan for Public Library Service* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1948), p. 107, summarizing from the committee's *Post-war Standards for Public Libraries* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1943), pp. 19–24.

[11] Leigh, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26.

[12] So interpreted by William S. Gray, "Summary of Reading Investigations, July 1, 1949 to June 30, 1950," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLIV (February, 1951), 403.

[13] Angus Campbell and Charles A. Metzner, *Public Use of the Library and Other Sources of Information* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1950), p. 45.

not have read this history with much care or thoughtfulness. Even a cursory examination of the history of the American public library would have made unmistakably clear that the public library never has been, and probably never was really intended to be, an instrument of mass communication. The public library, as we know it today, came about through the effort of small and highly literate groups of professional men—scholars, lawyers, ministers, and educators—who sorely needed books for the performance of their daily tasks and who, through their efforts, convinced their respective communities of the social utility of supporting a public library. Even George Ticknor, who, more emphatically than most, argued for the public library as an agency of popular culture, helped fill the shelves of the new Boston Public Library with titles that more properly belonged in the study of the man of letters.

If one learns anything at all from library history, it is certainly that the public library has never evinced any of the attributes of a mass-communication agency. It has never had a "captive audience"—not even an "elite" captive audience. Similarly, the librarian has never been a "manipulator" who seeks to win the agreement of as large a part of his captive audience as possible to his particular aims. Furthermore, in the library the initiative has always come from the library patron, never from the librarian. The librarian has never been able to bend his patron to his purpose as has the radio commentator or the newspaper columnist. Thus any attempt to study the public library as a segment of the existing system of mass communication ignores history, and the Public Library Inquiry, in so doing, may have committed a costly and disastrous blunder.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

The misconceptions that underlie both the adult education movement and the Public Library Inquiry derive from the same fallacious definition of the "educational" function of the library. The concept of the library as an educational agency is a direct transfer to librarianship of nineteenth-century faith in the education of the masses, a faith that had its roots in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and the belief in the idea of progress and the perfectibility of man. Through the influence of nineteenth-century educational leaders, this dogma of human perfectibility was transformed into a general conviction that the intellectual improvement, i.e., the education of the young, was a universal social responsibility—and thus began the ever expanding movement for free, tax-supported public schools.

But this new urge for universal education was met by two opposing forces. The first came with the realization that men are not created intellectually equal and that there are great masses of the population incapable of assimilating the traditional classical scholarship, which in previous centuries had been restricted to the few who could profit from such rigid mental discipline. Hence popular education was expanded, through such instruments as the Morrill Act, to include training in the agricultural and industrial technologies, partly because the basic acceptance of popular education was thereby extended and partly because there was in our increasingly technological culture a growing need for people trained in these skills.

The second counteracting force came with the discovery that our cultural pattern was not singular but dual, that, in addition to the Greco-Roman culture

which had up to this time dominated popular education, there was an independent folk culture which was not derivative but had its roots in the hearts, minds, and experiences of the masses of the people.

These opposing forces, then, brought schism to the educational world, but the librarians continued to cling tenaciously to the traditional nineteenth-century concept of education as an attempt to impose upon the public the traditions of classical scholarship and to translate popular culture into "elite" terms. Thus many librarians view their institutions as bulwark against an encroaching flood of cultural mediocrity and seek to explain away their failure to "educate" the masses. This unrealistic infatuation of the librarian with his educational responsibilities arises in part from a desire to share in the prestige that the professional educator has long enjoyed in American culture, but it is in large measure the result of the deterioration of the definition of education itself. During the last few decades the term "education" has been so broadly and loosely applied that it has now very nearly lost all meaning. Today almost every human experience has been described at one time or another as "educational," and even the advertiser who discourses at length on the deleterious effects of certain tobaccos upon the membranes of the "T-Zone" has come to think of himself as a missionary of popular enlightenment.

Such absurdities force a return to the original definition of "education," as derived from the Latin *educere*, "to lead forth." The educator, then, is a leader, one who conducts the student from a world that is familiar to a land that, at least for the student, is unexplored. The librarian, by the very nature of the responsibilities which he has assumed, cannot function effectively as such a leader. Only in a few isolated instances has personal contact between patron and librarian made possible the student-teacher relationship; yet from just such exceptions has grown a whole myth concerning the "educational" role of the librarian in society. So long as the social responsibility of the librarian remains the collecting, organizing, servicing, and administering of the graphic records of civilization and the encouragement of their most effective utilization, he cannot be an educator in the proper sense. To superimpose upon his established functions these irrelevant tasks will certainly confuse his objectives, if it does not actually destroy the true purpose for which the library was created.

This does not imply that the librarian must resign himself to a passive role in society, that he must continue to be "a quiet voice in an increasingly clamorous world." To be sure, the world would doubtless profit from an increase of vocal restraint. The librarian is at complete liberty to promote his services with all the intensity and drive that he deems desirable; but his vigor, if misdirected, can result only in frustration and eventual failure. Nor does this argument suggest that a social agency cannot attempt to change, even drastically, its function in society; but the proponents of such alteration must be aware that the course which they are proposing is counter to the historical trend and may well involve grave risks. To reason that, because educators and librarians both make use of books and ideas, librarians are therefore educators is equivalent to saying that Old Dutch Cleanser is a food merely because it is usually kept in the kitchen and used by the cook.

REASONS FOR THE NEGLECT OF HISTORY

Though one may grant that an understanding of the past is of major importance to those engaged in the social sciences, either as practical workers or as scholars, it still remains true that the uses and limitations of historical study have long been debated. As Crane Brinton points out, "there have always been individuals to whom the study of history seems unprofitable, even vicious, a limitation on the possibilities of soaring that the human spirit not dragged down by history might have."[14] There are a number of reasons for this growing lack of interest in history that is so strikingly characteristic of the historian's colleagues in the other social sciences, even though the popular appeal of history still remains relatively strong.

With the maturation of the social sciences as a recognized field of scholarship has come the development of a whole new constellation of techniques for the isolation, analysis, and investigation of social phenomena. In past centuries man turned to history alone, as today he turns to the entirety of the social sciences, for an understanding of man's social behavior. Then history was the only key to an understanding of man as man. But today history no longer provides the sole textbook for the study of human social, psychological, economic, and political behavior; and, with the evolution of specialized techniques in each of these branches of social science, there has arisen not only a diminution of the prestige of the historian but a concurrent distrust of his methods. Thus social scientists generally have come to consider history, if not actually a sterile and fruitless field of investigation, at least an academic adornment, to be pursued only for its own sake, with little or no thought to practical utility. In short, they would challenge Collingwood's defense of history that "the only clue to what man can do is what man has done" and that the "value of history, then, is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is." That the social scientists, in following this line of argument, are pursuing a dangerous path has been suggested in the illustrations above.

The second argument that has been so successfully used against the historian arises from the belief that an increasingly complex pattern of social behavior denies the predictive value of history. If there have been those who have clung to the belief that history does not repeat itself, it is only because they subscribe to the popular adage that even a donkey will not stumble over the same stone twice. In this the social scientists have been strongly supported by the historians themselves, who have been eternally timid in defending the predictive value of their craft even when they must have known that a donkey will stumble over the same stone not only twice but many times. The Bourbons never learn. The great powers of the world relentlessly precipitate wars, fight them, win and lose them, and then go about the business of fomenting future conflicts with policies and practices almost identical with those that brought on earlier international strife. The cynical aphorism that "man learns nothing from history except that he learns nothing from history" is too often true. But man does sometimes learn something from history—though not so much as he should—and the real question is: Does his wisdom increase with sufficient rapidity to avoid catastrophe?

But the third and basic reason for the decline of history may be charged directly to the historians themselves. When

[14] Brinton, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Leopold von Ranke first enunciated his conviction that the task of the historian was to re-create the past "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist," he inaugurated a new era of scholarly accuracy in historical writing. At the same time he shackled historians for generations to come to a blind devotion to the fact per se, and from this bondage the historians have even yet been unable to free themselves. The result has been that synthesis and interpretation have been forsaken in the mad scramble to re-examine all history in the light of the new Rankean methodology. Thus has arisen a widespread belief that the true historian busies himself with the minutiae of historical detail, having little or no regard for the significance of the factual remains that he is able to uncover.

Such a criticism does not imply that the Germanic influence in historical scholarship is to be disparaged. The historical documents which Von Ranke found stood in need of just such searching criticism and analysis as his methods could give, and the school of historical writing which he founded merits all the credit given to it. No history can rise above the level of the accuracy in factual detail upon which it rests. But historians have often forgotten that syntheses and interpretations are also *facts* and that their truth to reality is often more important than the lesser values of their constituent elements. Truth itself is absolute, not relative, but the *importance* of truth can display an infinite degree of variation. Robert Maynard Hutchins has said:

> Philistines will ask, what is truth? And all truths cannot be equally important. It is true that a finite whole is greater than any of its parts. It is also true, in the common-sense use of the word, that the New Haven telephone book is smaller than that of Chicago. The first truth is infinitely more fertile and significant than the second. . . . Real unity can be achieved only by a hierarchy of truths which shows us which are fundamental and which are subsidiary, which significant and which not.[15]

Similarly, the question of whether or not General Custer disobeyed the orders of General Terry and of which man was more responsible for the disastrous massacre of the Seventh Cavalry at the battle of the Little Big Horn is less important than the whole fact of governmental stupidity in dealing with the problems of the American Indians. Yet an excessive amount of historical scholarship has been channeled into establishing the truth or falsity of the insignificant trifles, and, for all its good intentions and lofty motives, it has in many ways rendered history a real disservice.

THE REORIENTATION OF RESEARCH IN LIBRARY HISTORY

If the writing of library history is to realize its fullest possibilities, it must be subjected to a drastic reorientation that will bring it into conformity to an underlying philosophy respecting the social function of the library itself. During the last two decades the earlier writing of library history has been severely criticized because of an excessive preoccupation with antiquarian detail and a provincial point of view. This charge that the authors of library history saw the library as an isolated and independent agency existing in a social vacuum was a thoroughly justified and wholesome criticism, and it promoted some useful exploratory thinking about the relation of the library to its coeval social milieu. But it did not go far enough. Even those writers who tried to present the library in sociological terms confined themselves to its institutional structure and form. They de-

[15] Robert Maynard Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 95.

scribed, with a reasonable degree of success, *how* the public library assumed its present institutional pattern, but they did not question the current underlying assumptions about the function of the library in society, and hence they failed to explain *why* it came to be the kind of public agency it now is.

This failure of library history completely to come to grips with the problems of interpreting the social context from which the library arose may be explained in another way. "Man," says Pierce Butler, "is 'a thinker . . . a tool-user, and a social being,' and therefore his culture is trichotomous—'an organic integration of a scholarship, a physical equipment, and a social organization.' "[16]

Valid library history, then, can be written only when the library is regarded in relation to this tripartite division of culture, a phenomenon which not only has physical being, is formed in response to social determinants, but finds its justification as a segment of the totality of the intellectual processes of society. The library is an agency of the entirety of the culture; more specifically, it is one portion of the system of graphic communication through which that culture operates, and its historic origins are to be sought in an understanding of the production, flow, and consumption of graphic communication through all parts of the social pattern.

One may properly conclude, therefore, that the historical emergence and development of the library as an agency of this process of graphic communication must be viewed in a framework of effective investigation into the whole complex problem of the trichotomous culture, a study of those processes by which society *as a whole* seeks to achieve a perceptive or understanding relation to the *total* environment—the physical, the social, and the intellectual.

So long as the process of communication was personal, direct, and immediate, the problem of transmission was a simple and local matter. But as it became possible to extend the communication process to ever greater dimensions through space and time, as the pattern of culture became increasingly complex, and as the informational needs of society became more divergent and even conflicting, an understanding of the historical development of the several aspects of culture becomes mandatory. Although the ultimate aim of such a study is effectively to order our communication processes to the end of greater benefit to society, it cannot proceed toward any valid conclusions without first answering such questions as: What have been the respective roles of the "personal carrier" and of the graphic record in the communication process? How did the main stream of graphic communication grow to its present flood proportions? What tributaries fed its turbulent waters, and how and to what extent did it irrigate the surrounding wastelands of human ignorance? What is the real contribution of libraries to this enrichment of the culture? What can be known of the past that will promote the exploitation of truth and the avoidance of error? What hope is there for the future ordering of graphic communication for the benefit of mankind? Even the mere listing of such questions reveals the depth to which their answers must be rooted in an understanding of the past.

The limitations of the present discussion preclude the possibility of describing in detail a research program in the history of librarianship and bibliographic organization that would contribute to

[16] Pierce Butler, "Librarianship as a Profession," *Library Quarterly*, XXI (October, 1951), 240.

the answering of such questions. But a few topics for investigation may be suggested that should exemplify the kind of historical inquiry which the writer has in mind.

It would seem to be a truism that the history of the library is related to the history of book production itself and that the two should be investigated in relation to each other. Yet we do not know what state of complexity a literature must achieve before society demands libraries of varying degrees of structural intricacy or subject specialization. The profession already possesses a series of histories of individual "special" libraries in medicine, business, industry, commerce, and the like; but all these, placed end to end, do not present a useful history of the special-library movement in this country. No history of special libraries has yet been written that will answer such questions as the following:

1. What kinds of special libraries appeared first?

2. What was the structure of the business or industry at the time the special libraries for that particular enterprise developed?

3. What was the "structure" of the literature of that particular field, i.e., was it largely contained in books, in periodicals, or in special reports?

4. What were the basic informational needs of the enterprise, and what kinds of publications were essential to the meeting of these needs?

5. What was the maturity of the bibliographic organization for the particular field to be investigated; were its materials well organized bibliographically, or were there few bibliographies, guides, and indexing or abstracting services?

6. In all these respects, how does one field compare with another or one period with another in the demands that it makes for library and bibliographic resources?

Such an intensive analysis, not only for the special library but for the public library, the large research library, and the other bibliographic services that have been stimulated by our increasingly complex system of graphic communication, would contribute substantially to our understanding of the place of the library in our society.

Without such a "clear historical consciousness," is the librarian likely "at times to serve his community badly"? Indeed, without such an understanding, he is in constant danger of not serving his community at all. The degree of his success will be largely determined by the extent to which practical considerations are founded upon historic truth. To paraphrase the words of a German writer on archeology, library history is the concern of every librarian, for history is not an esoteric or special branch of knowledge but a synthesis of life itself. When we busy ourselves with library history, librarianship as a whole becomes our subject. History is not an occasional or partial affair, "but a constant balancing on the point of intersection where past and future meet."[17]

[17] C. W. Ceram [pseud.], *Gods, Graves, and Scholars* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 20.

SOME NOTES ON LIBRARIES IN THAILAND

FRANCES LANDER SPAIN

These notes and observations on libraries and library activities in Bangkok, Thailand, were made following visits to libraries in that city. While holding a Fulbright lectureship in library science at Chulalongkorn University at Bangkok, I had an opportunity to study and take part in library affairs for a few months.

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

The first thing of note about libraries in Thailand is the great and extensive interest that is taken in them. Universities, schools, various departments, divisions, bureaus of the ministries, private businesses, the armed forces, hospitals, organizations, and societies have collections of books and a room, or a corner of a room, designated as the "library." Some employee acts as librarian, with responsibility for the books added to his other duties. Not always do either the librarians or the units supporting the libraries know just what to do with the books, but—and this seems significant—there is interest in libraries and a desire to have more of them.

These collections of books (for most of them cannot be called "libraries" in the modern sense of that word) are small. They range in size from several hundred titles to several thousand. In a few instances they contain over twenty-five thousand items. There is a tendency for each division and subdivision of an organization to have its own library instead of co-operating to form a single strong book unit for the whole organization. The books both in Siamese and in English—often gifts—are old, in unattractive editions, and in poor condition. They are entirely unsuited to the people who use the libraries and give little evidence that they have been off the shelves since they were first placed there. Very few titles have been added to the libraries since 1940, for, during the Japanese occupation, no titles could be bought, and since then the attention of this country has been concentrated on physical rehabilitation and economic recovery. As a result, there are serious gaps in book resources even in the scholarly and specialized libraries.

The physical condition of the books, not good when the books were new, is now deplorable. Many books were bought in cheap editions printed on poor paper; these have deteriorated in this climate so that they fall apart when handled. Insects, white ants, and cutworms have riddled their pages and eaten their covers. Whatever the condition of books, they are kept on the shelves and are counted in the statistics on library size.

The idea of discarding books because of either poor physical condition, obsolescence, or inappropriateness comes as a shock to the librarians. For example, I was visiting a very crowded small library and found one shelf given to publishers' catalogs, with duplicates running back six or eight years. When I suggested that these be discarded and that only one copy of the current catalog of each publisher be kept, I was told that the discarded ones might be taken from the shelf but that they would have to be wrapped, tied up, and kept on top of the

bookcase. A university library had an American sixth-grade social science textbook that had been presented by a thoughtless person. When it was suggested that it might be given to a nearby school that would be glad to use it, the suggestion was dismissed with the comment that the book had been given to that library and that there it would stay. Such attitudes reflect the scarcity and cost of books and the consequent dismay at throwing them away, the great respect for books as books, and the regard for gifts and their givers.

The school libraries have the poorest selection of books for use. On their shelves are sets of old, small-print editions of the English classics, books far too difficult for school pupils' English and so unattractive that they repel rather than attract readers. Many of the books bear that unmistakable air of having come from the attics of kindly but unintelligent donors to a good cause. English is a required subject in the *matayom* ("secondary") schools, and there is great need for attractive, simple books in the language. The books on education that the teachers might use are so antiquated that they would foster educational practices of twenty-five or thirty years ago. There are almost no books for children and young people. Nowhere are the films and records and other audio-visual materials that should make up a strong section of present-day school-library resources. A few English and American titles have been translated into Siamese, and some books in English have been presented to the schools by the United States Information Service, the British Information Service, and the Australian government.

The organization of books is haphazard. In general, some attempts have been made to put books together by subjects, ranging all the way from the use of the Dewey and Library of Congress classification systems to original systems of subject arrangement and notations. Broad subjects (e.g., literature and history) and the separation of Siamese and English titles are the usual groupings. Letters, generally the initial of the subject, and a sequent number are used as the call number. Reliance on fixed location, with certain shelves for certain subjects, is the general practice. Several of the largest libraries use the accession number of the book as its call number and arrange books on the shelves in the order in which they were received by the library. Here, of course, no subject arrangement is attempted.

The cataloging is equally various. Practically all libraries have an accession record that is called the "catalog." This is the numerical record, in sequence of accession, of the books in each library. Occasionally, the librarians have made the same broad subject arrangements here that they use for the books. The card catalog, or, as it is called here, the "card index," is found in about one-third of the libraries. The author, title, publisher, and call number are recorded on the cards in hit-or-miss fashion. The title of the book rather than the subject is stressed, a logical *hoc sequitur* of the educational system. Students on all levels of education are required to learn certain facts, must follow a narrow course of study, and must be prepared to take, and pass, the various sequences of central examinations. They are therefore told, by title, what to read. There is little scope for originality or for independent reading, and subjects of books have therefore been omitted as unnecessary. A few librarians have classed catalogs, which alone give an approach to subjects. The card index is usually in two

parts, an author index and a title index, which may be further divided by language, i.e., Siamese and English. Occasionally there is a third, the classed or shelflist, section.

The practice in most libraries is to allow home circulation of books. The details of regulations covering circulation vary, but one book at a time for one week is the standard. Books may be renewed. The circulation record is kept in a book or on cards; the more highly organized libraries use cards, the others the book. Some libraries do not permit home use of books.

Thai librarians are only now being introduced to the modern ideas of library service, and library patrons are beginning to understand what libraries should mean to them and are asking for these services. The traditional idea of protecting books, of locking them up, of having rather unattractive library rooms with short hours and librarians who are clerks rather than people trained to assist with reference and reading needs, has prevailed here. Libraries have rows of bookcases with locked glass doors and elusive keys. Even the enlightened librarians, who do not lock the bookcases, have glass doors "to protect the books from dust and insects." A close inspection of these encased books shows that these precautions serve no real purpose; the only library without such cases, the United States Information Service library, has no more dust and insects than the rest. In parentheses, it is well to note that that library has a carefully selected, well-chosen collection of readable books that are used so much that neither dust nor insects have time to settle on them. In most libraries readers are not permitted to go to the shelves for books but must ask for them at the attendant's desk. If the book is out or cannot be found, the reader is told that it is not there, and that ends the transaction. The idea of suggesting another book is new; the old attitude reflects again the emphasis laid on a particular book rather than on books as purveyors of information. Library hours are short, and even the university libraries close when classes are over. Of course, lighting is poor, and so it may be good for students' eyes that they cannot read there at night.

Most libraries are crowded. Books are placed wherever space is available, whether or not that is an appropriate location. Large libraries have rooms or buildings for their use; smaller collections of books are placed in corners of rooms used for other purposes or in corridors. The National Library occupies its own building; a new library has just been erected for the College of Agriculture; one of the *matayom* schools has a building that houses the museum and the library; and the public library at Wat Sutat, one of the temples, is in a separate building. But others are in rooms of *wats* (temples), schools, or university structures. All use bookcases with glass doors. Many of these cases are handsome pieces of furniture, beautifully carved of teak and inlaid with mother-of-pearl but not suitable as library equipment. The old palm books and Pali manuscripts of the National Library are housed in gorgeous cabinets of black lacquer and gold leaf which are museum pieces and appropriate for the type of materials they hold. Most of the libraries have tables and chairs for readers, though the central library of Chulalongkorn University has no reading space within the library. A few libraries have catalog cabinets, most of which are rough, ill-made cases. Some locally made cabinets are satisfactory. Though some of the libraries are dark and unattractive, many have an inviting air about them. The Siamese style of architecture provides for wide windows,

adequate ventilation, and natural lighting. These make rooms seem larger, keep them cool, and furnish an attractive setting for the books and readers.

An accurate report on library finances is impossible. No library has a budget with a detailed account of its financial activities. Most librarians reported "not enough money," "a little money," "some money for books," or "very little" in response to questions concerning budgets. The school libraries have no individual funds for books. Their requests for book purchases are sent to the Ministry of Education, where final action is taken and purchases are made. The university faculties support their libraries with annual, though small, allocations for books and periodicals.

There are no trained Siamese librarians in any of the libraries in Thailand. Two librarians have been sent to the United States for training but have not returned; another, the librarian of the Department of Science, is at present studying in America and is expected back soon; others are making plans for foreign training in the next few years. The men and women who have undertaken to set up libraries here have had no instruction and, until the United States Information Service and British Information Service libraries were organized recently, no examples to follow. Libraries of some of the university faculties have been influenced by professors who have studied abroad and who have brought back knowledge of foreign academic library practices. These professors have been able to suggest changes in the routines of their faculty libraries, but, in most cases, libraries have been established without much direction and without understanding of the function of a library as a service unit.

Under a grant from the Fulbright Foundation, Chulalongkorn University has offered, during the academic year 1951–52, a program of library training. A series of six courses was planned; because the program did not get started until the second term of the year, only three have been given. The interest of the Siamese in library service is demonstrated by the size of the enrolment in the introductory course: one hundred and seventeen persons for the second term and fifty-six for the repeat section in the third term. Only students who had passed the first course were permitted to take the others. Even more might have registered if the classes had been conducted in their native language. Approximately one-third of the students who enrolled for the first course withdrew because of difficulty with the language, since all instruction is in English without an interpreter.

The courses are very simple and stress the essentials of library service. They attempt to give practicing librarians practical information that will be of immediate help to them and, at the same time, to indicate possible extension of services. The United States Information Service library furnished copies of standard textbooks in library science, and a very detailed outline of each lesson was prepared and distributed to the students. The university library was used as a laboratory. There are no practice books for classification and cataloging classes, and reference courses have to be taught with a 1928 edition of *Who's Who*. Though editions are old, the standard general reference tools are available as examples, but book-selection courses will be difficult to conduct because of the scarcity of recent books in a wide range of subjects. This series of courses will form the foundation for professional library training abroad and will provide assistant librarians with some knowledge of the nature and practices of modern libraries.

An informal but effective piece of library education was the Library Institute in November, 1951, sponsored jointly by the Fulbright library-science lecture program of Chulalongkorn University and the United States Information Service library. Librarians in Bangkok were invited to participate, and over one hundred attended. The program was planned for variety and instruction. A short humorous skit depicting the wrong and right ways to conduct a circulation desk amused the librarians present, talks on topics of local interest supplemented the library-science class lectures, a tour of the United States Information Service library afforded an opportunity to see some of the characteristics of modern libraries in practice, three library films showed the variety of activities of American libraries, and a social hour at the conclusion gave time for informal discussion of points raised by the program.

SOME TYPICAL LIBRARIES

A fuller description of some typical libraries in Bangkok will amplify the foregoing general comments. A complete survey of all library activities in the city and in the country should be made as the basis for general library planning.

The National Library is the official library of Thailand and is now under the direction of the Department of Fine Arts. It is the oldest Siamese library and one of the largest. It is housed in three buildings in the Grand Palace compound near the National Museum. The printed books are in a long building of many rooms connected by a wide inside gallery, the manuscripts are in a large one-room building, and a special collection of books and memorabilia is in a small but handsome building between the other two.

The library, a memorial to King Mongkut from his children, was begun as a general library. To it were added the royal collection of religious manuscripts and another collection of Buddhist scriptures in many languages, to form, by a royal decree of October 12, 1905, the Vajiranana National Library. Its scope has been narrowed to include all things Siamese and materials on the general region of Southeast Asia. Its collection of Chinese, Burmese, and Siamese books is extensive and its Pali and palm-leaf religious manuscripts vast. These palm books are placed between panels of lacquered teak, carved ivory, or silver, wrapped in pieces of old Siamese silk or brocade, tied with strong cord, and placed on shelves of specially designed cases. The beautiful cases are square cabinets of ornately carved teak, of wood incrusted with bits of brightly colored glass, of black lacquer with mother-of-pearl inlay, or of lacquer and gold leaf. They are decorated by scenes from religious and traditional writings of Burma, India, China, and Thailand.

The printed books are in English, French, and Siamese and are kept in glass-fronted bookcases. One room of the library contains valuable files of old Bangkok newspapers. These are printed on cheap paper and are rapidly going to pieces. A proposal to microfilm and thus save them is, however, being considered. The library has the deposit privilege, whereby it receives two copies of every book published in Thailand, and arranges exchanges with national libraries in other countries.

The books are classified by two systems, one for the Siamese and one for foreign titles. Each system has eleven subject divisions and sequent numbering within the divisions. The books have a fixed location in cases and rooms. There is a card index. The library is confusing to a Westerner, but the staff can locate books quickly and easily.

The various ministries of the govern-

ment have libraries. In most cases, each department and division has a collection of books which is separate from, and seems to be without any co-ordination with, the book collections of other units within the same ministry. The Ministry of Education, however, in its plans for a new building has made provision for a central library. The present library of this ministry consists of half-a-dozen handsome bookcases along both walls of the main upstairs corridor. Books here are old, unorganized, and evidently unused. The Adult Education Division has a single bookcase of old books, including some gift novels that have no place in such a collection; the Division of Foreign Affairs has a good collection of UNESCO publications but is so cramped for space that these are not organized for ready use; the Department of General Education has an attractive room with adequate space and a collection of recent books, presented by the United States Information Service, for children and teachers. The latter library is providing a type of centralized school-library service to the teachers of Bangkok.

In contrast to a number of such small, independent collections within one ministry, the Department of Science has established a single, large, well-organized library. It has a good collection of appropriate books, including recent as well as standard titles in the sciences and a fine run of journals. Materials on all the sciences are organized together and classified by the Dewey classification system. A catalog has been made with an alphabetical approach to subject matter, and there is adequate space for readers and an inviting air about the room. The librarian is now studying in the United States.

The educational system of Thailand is divided into three levels: the *pratom*, or primary and elementary; the *matayom*, or secondary; and the university. Each is governed by a detailed course of study and the first two by a rigid set of national examinations upon which admission to the next level is based. The children in the *pratom* schools use books from the public libraries in the *wats*, if one is nearby; otherwise they have no books. The *matayom* schools and the universities have libraries.

The libraries of the *matayom* schools are usually in a room of the school building. The books are locked in bookcases and are arranged in the simplest subject groupings; they are old, unattractive classics of English literature and Siamese literary and historical works. There is no card catalog. English is taught in the *matayom* schools, and readable titles of interest to young people would therefore be highly desirable. Students are allowed to go to the library at lunch and for a brief period after school. When the headmaster of one of the best schools, with an attractive library room, was asked whether the students were ever permitted to go to the library during class hours, he said: "Oh, no, we do not have a library course of study." Several of the *matayom* schools have adequate housing for a good library—attractive, clean, colorful rooms with tables and chairs for the students. Resources of some school libraries in the Bangkok area are supplemented by the regular scheduled visits of the United States Information Service library bookmobile.

Bangkok has several institutions of higher learning: one general university—Chulalongkorn University; the University of Moral and Political Science; the College of Agriculture, with which is combined the Agriculture Experiment Station; and two medical schools—the Medical College of Siriraj Hospital and

the University of Medical Sciences. Each of these has at least one library.

Chulalongkorn University is organized into eight faculties, each autonomous and each with its own library which is entirely independent of the central library and of the other faculty libraries. The central library is in the Arts and Education building, where two other small libraries are located, and has 35,000 titles. With the combined resources of the faculty libraries, this provides a book stock of about 70,000 for the whole university. The central library has copies of standard titles and basic reference books, often in old editions, in the humanities and social sciences. The collection is composed largely of English-language books; less than one-third of the titles are in Siamese, and a few are in French and German. The books are locked in glass-covered cases, and students are not allowed to consult titles on the shelves. The two rooms where the books are kept are so crowded that there is no space in the library for reading; students stand in order to look at periodicals and must take books to an adjacent balcony for reading. No attempt has been made to set up a reference collection or to give reference service. The books have been well classified by the Dewey classification system, and there are separate author, title, and classed catalogs in both English and Siamese. The secretary-general of the university is the librarian, with a graduate of the university, who also teaches, as the librarian-in-charge.

The libraries of the faculties range in size from one to sixteen thousand books. These are generally limited to titles in the broad subject fields of the specialty of the faculty: science, engineering, commerce, architecture, pharmacy, political science, arts, and education; with two exceptions, they are arranged in large subject groups. The science library, under the direction of a professor who has a Ph.D. degree from an American university, is classified by the Dewey system and is organized after the pattern of an American university library. The engineering library, under the direction of a professor trained on the Continent, uses the accession number of the book to place it on the shelf next to the last book added to the collection. The librarian of the Faculty of Pharmacy is in the process of classifying this library by the Dewey system. Because of the lack of co-ordination between the various library units of the university, there is duplication of titles, considerable duplication of expenses, no union catalog, and no attempt to give university-wide, uniform service to students and faculty.

The University of Moral and Political Science specializes in law, government, political science, and commerce, and the titles in its library reflect these specializations. The collection contains close to ten thousand titles in Siamese, French, and English, as well as a representative selection of periodicals from America and the Continent. The library is presently being cataloged and classified by the Dewey system. The two rooms occupied by the library provide adequate space for books and readers. The ever-present glass doors are found in this library, and they are locked. In order to get a book, students must make application to a clerk. This library maintains a reserve section for books in demand and, though it normally closes when classes are over, remains open later when students are studying for examinations.

With the aid of the Mutual Security Agency, the College of Agriculture and the Agriculture Experiment Station will soon have the most up-to-date library in

Thailand. A new building has been erected, and two existing libraries are being combined into a large, well-organized collection of sixteen thousand books and three hundred periodicals on agriculture and related subjects. The books are being classified by the Library of Congress classification system, and Library of Congress cards are being used when available. It is expected that a Thai will be sent to the United States for training to take over the administration of the library when the organization is completed.

The library of the Medical College of Siriraj Hospital has a fine collection of books and journals on medical and scientific subjects, has sufficient room for books and readers, uses medical students as student assistants, but has no classification other than the numerical sequence of accessions.

Public libraries are being developed under the direction of the Adult Education Department of the Ministry of Education. They are usually located in buildings in the *wat*, or temple, compounds and are used by the people in the neighborhood: the general readers, children from the *wat* schools, and adults from the adult education classes at night. These libraries are composed primarily of Siamese books and magazines, with some popular English-language materials from the United States Information Service. The rooms, although usually small, are large enough to care for the current collection of books and the number of readers using them at one any time. One library has folding chairs that are used to convert the room into a small auditorium for programs.

There are many special libraries in business establishments, manufacturing plants, societies, and associations in Bangkok. The banks and insurance companies, the distillery, the tobacco monopoly, the local office of ECAFE, the Association of the North, and the Siam Society are among the agencies maintaining libraries. Of these, the libraries of ECAFE and of the Siam Society are the most highly organized. The librarian of ECAFE was trained in India, and his collection of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and serials is classified by the Dewey system. The materials are on the economic, historical, social, and cultural aspects of life in the Southeast Asian countries. The Siam Society is an association of Thai and foreigners interested in the history and cultural traditions of Thailand. It has a small but well selected collection of books and learned journals and monographs on all phases of the history, art, literature, music, dancing, and customs of this country. The librarian of the United States Information Service is the honorary librarian and is, at present, supervising the reorganization of the collection.

There are three foreign libraries in Bangkok: the Neilson-Hays, a subscription library; the library of the British Information Service; and the library of the United States Information Service.

The Neilson-Hays is the oldest library open to general use in Bangkok. It was founded in 1868 by a small group of English and American ladies who wanted English-language books. At first it was supported by the Ladies Bazaar Association, but it later became a subscription library with membership open to all interested persons. It now draws its membership from all nationalities in Bangkok. One of its most active members, and for many years its president, was Mrs. T. Heyward Hays. Upon her death her husband erected a very attractive and suitable building in her memory and presented it, with an endowment, to

the association. It has a large collection of fiction and nonfiction for children and adults and a very fine collection of old and rare books on Thailand and Southeast Asia. During the recent occupation, the Japanese sent the latter portion of the books to Japan. When they were returned, many were found to have been marked and noted where geographical, industrial, or local items of significance were treated. The books are classified by the Dewey system and are kept in glass-fronted cases which are not locked. There is a card catalog. As an adjunct to this library, a popular library is maintained in an adjacent building. The books in this collection are discards from the main collection, gifts not suitable for inclusion there, and old copies of magazines. Here, for five ticals (approximately twenty-five cents), anyone may read in the evenings.

The British Information Service library is in a centrally located store in the business district of Bangkok. It has attractive rooms with comfortable furniture, several thousand books, and many periodicals. There are no children's books and no reference service. The young man in charge is not a trained librarian but has that title along with other duties and leaves the management of the library to a very intelligent young Siamese woman. The library is arranged by subjects in a classification system devised for it.

The United States Information Service library is the one example in Bangkok of a modern American library in action. The central library is in a store building on one of the main thoroughfares of the city. One branch is in a thickly settled Chinese section of Bangkok; another is in Chiengmai, the second largest city of Thailand, four hundred miles or more to the north. The library sends packets of books out to the provinces and provides a bookmobile service to schools in the local area. There are three trained American librarians and a Thai staff of fifteen to run the three units, handle the traveling library collections, and man the bookmobile.

The library has eight to ten thousand American books in its central collection and several thousand in each of the branches. These books are classified by the Dewey system; there is a dictionary catalog; books are on open shelves without even the traditional glass door to keep the dust and insects out; and special rooms are maintained for adults, children, and reference. It is the only library that has audio-visual and vertical-file materials and offers distinct reference service. It also conducts special programs for adults and children.

CONCLUSIONS

Even a hasty and incomplete study of libraries in Bangkok impresses one with the deep interest in libraries on the part of librarians and people in general and with the great need for improvement before Thailand can be said to have modern library service.

The men and women who are in charge of the libraries are eager to learn all they can in order to make them better. They have shown this eagerness by working all day and then attending late-afternoon classes in library science over a period of months. As soon as the courses started they began to read available textbooks, to ask questions, and to incorporate in their libraries ideas and practices discussed in the classes. The officials responsible for libraries have discussed with intelligence the needs of libraries in general and of theirs in particular, have allowed their librarians to attend library science classes on office time, and have supported with their interest, and when

possible with funds, the development of libraries. Even people who have no official connection with libraries are interested in them. Teachers in the *matayom* schools and universities are realizing that newer methods of teaching will require libraries instead of textbooks and are taking an active part in discussions of library theories and practices. Citizens who use some of the foreign libraries are beginning to recognize the kind of services which libraries can give and ar inquiring about similar ones for their own country.

The needs of libraries here are fivefold: a new concept of library service, money, books and other materials, organization, and trained leadership. The key to library progress in Thailand is the new concept of library service that is rapidly developing. When that concept has been fully established, the other needs will be taken care of. The tradition of locked books, of the library as a storehouse rather than a service unit, of outdated belles-lettres rather than up-to-the-minute books on all subjects is being challenged. As more and more Siamese study and visit other lands, they come back determined to have a library service which will equal, though not necessarily copy, the kind of service they found abroad. The acquaintance with new library theories and practices which Siamese librarians are acquiring and the demands of enlightened library patrons should combine to create a new library service for Thailand.

The idea of adequate annual financial support for libraries is not yet a part of the concept of library development here. A small amount of money is available for books in the various libraries, but it is almost too small to be of any use. A few books are added occasionally to the collections, but a steady flow of new publications is not found in most libraries. Little money is spent on equipment or rehabilitation of library quarters and almost none on supplies of any kind. Librarians' salaries, based on the civil service code, are very small. There is no constant support of libraries through appropriation or allocation of funds, no budget to guide librarians in their spending.

The book collections of all libraries should be carefully examined and a policy of book-purchasing set up. Hit-or-miss selection and purchase of books will not build up a balanced, functional collection. There is great need to discard unsuitable books and to develop a long-term program of book additions. The books published during the last ten years should be studied and the most significant ones of that period selected. This will bridge the gap caused by the Japanese occupation. The collections in the universities should be brought up to date, the reference equipment strengthened, bibliographic tools added, and general books provided for students and faculty. Audio-visual and vertical-file materials should be developed by all libraries. (This valuable and often inexpensive resource material is entirely lacking at present.) Books for children and young people, in both Siamese and English, are especially needed in the schools and public libraries. Very good titles in English might be translated and reprinted in Siamese for the classroom as well as the library.

There is great need for more coordination of libraries here, especially by types of service and subject specialization. The duplication of titles, when the total number is so limited, is deplorable. Internal organization of acquisition procedures, cataloging, classification, shelf

arrangement, circulation, readers' services, and references should be tightened, and policies of administration need to be developed. A recognized classification system and a simple but uniform cataloging code would standardize library organization and provide the foundation for a future union catalog and other bibliographic tools.

The final need of libraries here is for trained personnel. If this deficiency were met, ways and means of controlling some of the other needs could be planned and implemented by these trained librarians, be it independently or working as an organized group. They would know what was needed to give Thailand fine library service and how to go about getting it. At present, these leaders must be trained abroad. The program of library science offered by Chulalongkorn University will serve as an introduction to professional training and will give basic instruction to library assistants, but it will not, for some years, be a substitute for a library school.

The development of libraries in Thailand is linked with the development of other cultural and educational factors here. There is, at present, a strong desire on the part of the government to survey local practices, to study local institutions, and to evaluate local services so that they may be reorganized along more functional lines. This period of self-examination may well lead to a type of library service which, though influenced by developments in other countries, will be Siamese in character and will meet the needs of Thailand.

NOTES ON THE ORIGINS OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN CALIFORNIA, 1850–1900

LEWIS F. STIEG

During the last twenty years several important contributions to the history of libraries have appeared. They have been based on the techniques and methods of professional historians and have resulted in studies which are at the level that Berr and Febvre call the "synthesis of reconstitution."[1] In other words, they are interpretative studies, which attempt to place the library as an institution within the framework of the intellectual, social, economic, and political life of which it is a part. For his influence, both direct and indirect, upon the development of this type of historical research, librarians owe much to Pierce Butler.

Three of the most interesting of these historical studies attempt to trace the origins and early development of public library service in the United States. All three, however, are rather narrowly limited in scope. Shera's *Foundations of the Public Library* is confined to New England before 1855; Ditzion's *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* covers the northeastern states from approximately 1850 to 1900; Spencer's *The Chicago Public Library* is limited to Chicago and Illinois. Ditzion assumes that "the pattern of library development in other parts of the country . . . the motifs of library history elsewhere were much the same as in the New England states. In fact, much borrowing was done from the early experience of the Northeast."[2] This assumption needs to be checked by further regional studies of the public library movement and by histories of individual institutions. This paper is not, however, a regional history of the public library movement in California. It is a preliminary check of Ditzion's statement by an attempt to identify, in those California communities where public library service was established between 1850 and 1900, the cultural and social factors which Spencer, Shera, and Ditzion agree are important, perhaps even essential, for the foundation of public libraries as we know them today.

All three authors are commendably cautious in imputing causal relationships between the social factors which they isolated for study and the actual establishment of public libraries. Their lists of these factors do not agree in detail, nor is the relative importance assigned to each factor the same in the three investigations. They do, however, agree that the following ten elements can be identified in a society which establishes a public library: (1) the economic ability to support a library; (2) a system of universal public education; (3) a system of social libraries; (4) an urban population sufficiently dense to make a community library feasible; (5) enlightened civic leadership; (6) local pride; (7) the support of organized religion and of humanitarian groups; (8) a favorable legal

[1] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, VII (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930), 359.

[2] Sidney Ditzion, *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947), pp. ix–x.

status for the public library; (9) an interest in scholarship and historical research and a desire to preserve the cultural heritage; (10) an interest in self-improvement and, particularly, in self-culture.

Between 1850 and 1900, at least thirty-six tax-supported public libraries were established in California. About 80 per cent of them evolved from social libraries. The first general library legislation was passed by the state legislature in 1878. The state library had been created in 1849 by the first constitutional convention, but extension service was not established until 1903, when James L. Gillis initiated activities which were to make California pre-eminent in the provision of state-wide public library service through its system of county libraries.

Economic factors.—A tax-supported public library presupposes an organized governmental agency capable of raising funds through taxation. Obviously, those California communities which existed at the time of annexation and those established later had the economic potential for tax-supported libraries, or they would not have come into being or survived.

Much attention has been given to the role of philanthropy in the origins of public libraries. Shera makes the point, however, that it was a contributory rather than a causal factor.[3] Ditzion feels that often the expectation of philanthropic support retarded the achievement of full tax support.[4] In California philanthropy was apparently not a major factor in the establishment of public libraries until the last decade or so of the nineteenth century. There were, of course, many examples of gifts of books, land, or money, but no contributions on the scale of those of Astor, Lenox, or Tilden in New York or of Joshua Bates in Boston until about the turn of the century. The "native-son" psychology, of which both Shera and Ditzion make much, could scarcely have been a factor in California from 1850 to 1900.

Shera implies that, as New England's economy became more stable, the need for philanthropy as a stimulant for the foundation of public libraries decreased.[5] One infers that a stable economy, prosperous business conditions, and general optimism encourage people to vote for tax-supported libraries. An examination of the economic scene in California indicates that rapid fluctuations or the fact that a community is suffering from a business depression does not necessarily prevent the establishment of public libraries. In other words, a stable economy is perhaps no more essential than philanthropy.

Although the California State Mining Bureau reported that $208,000,000 in gold was mined between 1849 and 1852, very little of this wealth remained within the state, and there was a panic in 1854. A lack of capital and exorbitant interest rates continued for many years.[6] The first of the cattle booms began in 1849, but not until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 was California assured of a regular market for its agricultural produce. Nevertheless,

> though California's days of extreme isolation came to an end in 1869, and the development of her resources went forward at an ever accelerated pace, the first decade of the railroad era witnessed widespread economic stagnation, and social unrest of a violent and explosive type.[7]

The confused state of land titles and the land monopoly made taxation a crucial issue during most of the nineteenth century. In 1861 Governor Downey esti-

[3] Jesse H. Shera, *Foundations of the Public Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

[6] Robert G. Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), p. 259.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

mated the indebtedness of California cities and counties at ten million dollars.[8] California suffered seriously during the panic of 1874–75 and did not recover until the boom period of the eighties. Furthermore, in the unsettled frontier society of California's first few decades as a state, periods of great prosperity did not necessarily mean periods of civic improvement. "Paradoxically, prosperity did not produce a demand for good government; instead, men became so engrossed in their private affairs as to have time only occasionally to ponder on the conduct of state and local officers."[9]

In spite of these unfavorable economic conditions, at least ten public libraries were established in California before 1880, although the census figures of that year show only six communities in the state with a population of ten thousand or more. Furthermore, the first general library legislation was enacted by the legislature in 1878,[10] when the effects of the panic of 1874–75 were still very serious.

Perhaps one may conclude from these facts that, although the basic wealth of a community must be sufficient to support a public library if it is to survive, unfavorable business conditions do not prevent its establishment, nor is philanthropy an essential element. A more thorough and detailed study than any we have yet had of the relationship between economic conditions and the foundation of public libraries is necessary before any extensive generalizations on this point can be made.

Universal public education.—The agitation for free public schools in California began almost immediately after annexation. The first state constitution of 1849 provided for free public education, but the enabling legislation was not passed for another two years. Later laws brought improvement and expansion of the educational program, until in 1867 the superintendent of public instruction was able to announce that California at last had a state-wide system of free public schools. The school law of 1866, which made this announcement possible, also included a clause establishing a system of school libraries, which the superintendent considered "one of [its] most important provisions."[11]

Shera documents the development of the concept of the public library in New England during the forties as an essential supplement to the public school system.[12] On the West Coast we find the same idea during the seventies. Hallidie, probably the most important leader in the crusade to establish a free public library in San Francisco, made this point the central theme of his speech at the dedication of that library in 1879.[13]

Perhaps it is more than coincidental that the first general library law in California was passed at the time that compulsory education was becoming an important political issue. The Workingmen's party, which in many ways dominated the legislature of 1877–78, held its first state convention in 1878. An important plank in the platform which it adopted was compulsory education.[14]

These facts seem to support the contention that the establishment of free public libraries is allied to the growth of

[8] California, Senate, *Journal . . . Twelfth Session* (Sacramento: C. T. Botts, 1861), p. 31.

[9] John W. Caughey, *California* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940), p. 325.

[10] California, *Statutes, 1877–8* (Sacramento: F. P. Thompson, 1878), p. 329.

[11] John Swett, *Public Education in California* (New York: American Book Co., 1911), pp. 179, 185–88.

[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 220–26.

[13] Fulmer Mood, "Andrew S. Hallidie and Librarianship in San Francisco, 1868–79," *Library Quarterly*, XVI (July, 1946), 209.

[14] Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco: N. J. Stone & Co., 1897), IV, 582, 611.

free education. Both institutions are apparently the answer to similar social needs or perhaps the same need.

The social library movement.—Although at least eight of the thirty-six or more free public libraries established in California from 1850 to 1900 had no social library as a direct ancestor, in some of these communities, notably San Francisco, important social libraries were in existence or had been a feature of community life. The social library, therefore, demonstrated the value of a community book collection.

In San Francisco the two most important social libraries were strong and independent. In spite of financial crises at various points in their history, they continued to serve their respective clienteles after the public library was founded. In most other communities, however, the social libraries were donated to the public library when it was established. In some cases—for example, that of Oakland[15]—the social library was offered to the city because its members could no longer afford to maintain it. The average age of 24 social libraries which were later absorbed into public library systems was a little over six and one-half years. A comparison of this figure with those reported by Shera is significant: more than half of 413 social libraries in New England lasted for thirty-five years of more.[16]

Perhaps we may tentatively conclude from these facts that during the nineteenth century the social library was a helpful device, but not necessarily essential, in securing the foundation of a public library. Apparently, in California at least, the concept of the community's responsibility for library service was sufficiently widespread to secure tax support for social libraries at a relatively early point in their career.

Urban population.—Ditzion points out that rural libraries came upon the scene only after urban libraries were successful.[17] Extension agencies were first established during the nineties, and in most states they had to wait until after the turn of the century. In California the program was begun in 1903.

There has been much discussion in the literature of public library administration on the optimum unit for public library service. Research has also been done on the minimum size of a community which can afford adequate public library service. In California, between 1850 and 1900, people were not concerned with these refinements of political and economic theory. There does not seem to be any critical point in size of population which marks the dividing line as to whether or not a community would establish a public library. There are several examples of very small towns numbering a thousand or fewer inhabitants—Fresno, Marysville, San Bernardino, etc.—which established tax-supported libraries. A relatively large number of communities with tax-supported libraries, including Pasadena and Riverside, numbered five thousand or less. San Francisco is the only California city which had a population of more than one hundred thousand at the time that its public library was established.

Ditzion's emphasis upon the "urban-industrial complex" as a factor in the establishment of public libraries does not seem to hold for California. Except for San Francisco and some of the other northern cities, industry was not the dominating feature of urban life in those communities which established public libraries.

[15] *History of Alameda County, California* (Oakland: M. W. Wood, 1883), p. 777.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

Leadership.—Democratic processes imply group action, but group action without leadership and direction is seldom effective. In securing group consent for support of community libraries in California, intelligent and persistent leadership is consistently found.

The work of Hallidie in San Francisco has been described in detail by Mood.[18] In most of the other communities a small group of people, with no one individual outstanding, provided the leadership. Very often the group responsible for the foundation of a social library was also instrumental, a few years later, in securing tax support for it.

Local pride.—It scarcely seems necessary to document the importance of local pride in the development of community services in California. Ditzion says that in the Northeast, "when smaller cities were competing to attract investment money to local business and real estate, the public library was a feature on a par with light, water and sewer systems."[19] In California the public library was one of the features of community life to be brought to the attention of prospective settlers.

Religion and humanitarian groups.—Both Shera and Ditzion emphasize the fact that the support of religion and of humanitarian groups is of secondary importance in securing the foundation of a public library. In California the work of organizations like the WCTU, women's clubs, the YMCA, and fraternal groups was very important, particularly in connection with social libraries that preceded tax-supported libraries.

The WCTU and other women's clubs established or helped to support library associations in such communities as Santa Ana, Stockton, Hanford, and Santa Monica. The YMCA was important in cities like San Jose, San Bernardino, Redlands, and Corona. Fraternal organizations initiated or supported movements for libraries in Santa Barbara, Arcata, and other towns.

If the social library must be recognized as an important influence in the foundation of tax-supported libraries, then equal recognition must be given to women's clubs and other organizations. Without their support and leadership, the death rate of social libraries, particularly in the smaller towns, would have been much higher.

Legal status.—Until 1878 special legislation was necessary to secure a tax-supported library for any community in California. In that year a law, based on the Illinois law, was passed by the legislature. Within two years eight public libraries had been established under its provisions.

It is virtually impossible to separate cause and effect in this situation. It is reasonable to assume, however, that success in securing the foundation of a public library in any community is much more certain if the necessary legal steps are relatively simple and can be promptly executed.

Scholarship and historical research.—The production of books about California has been a big business practically from the date of its discovery. The flood of material did not cease with American occupation but increased. Shera says that "events had prepared the New England mind for concentration on history."[20] Apparently, the California mind was conscious of the fact that history was in the making. "What, then, was to be done for a literature here? Make one. History would do for a beginning, and if this was not to be found in books, there

[18] *Op. cit.*

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

was plenty of it in the air, in the mouths of men, and in yet more substantial shape."[21]

Americans in California had inherited an established culture. The pre-Gold Rush settlers had become a part of the existing social structure and had helped to make the transition to Americanization less abrupt. The value of the historical records of the Spanish and Mexican periods was early recognized. "First, there were the archives of the missionaries, and of the settlers who came immediately after them; the letters and journals of fur-traders, and the records kept at their several forts. . . . Much remained to be unearthed."[22]

Statehood and the upheaval of the Gold Rush did not diminish the quantity of historical records or put a stop to books about California. Soulé's *Annals of San Francisco* was published in 1855, and publishers have continued to feature Californiana.

If books are published, there will be collectors. Perhaps the earliest and certainly the greatest collector of Californiana was Bancroft. He was probably collecting subconsciously before 1859, but in that year he began in an organized way to assemble materials about California and the Pacific Coast.

> It occurred to me that we should probably have frequent occasion to refer to books on California, Oregon, Washington, and Utah, and that it might be more convenient to have them all together. . . . It is true that thus far, and for years afterward, I had no well defined purpose, further than the original and insignificant one, in gathering these books; but with the growth of the collection came the purpose.[23]

Bancroft began what amounted to a historical factory.

> He employed numerous assistants, some of whom . . . were historians in their own right. . . . With the aid of [an] index, then, Bancroft and his staff went through the subject matter of Pacific slope history item by item, viewing the evidence, weighing it, comparing, and interpreting. . . . The end result was thirty-nine fat volumes, uneven in quality, but cyclopedic in detail and crammed with citations of every conceivable authority.[24]

In spite of Bancroft and other amateurs, it is doubtful whether this interest in scholarship and historical research, except in San Francisco and a few other centers, was a major factor in the establishment of public libraries. In New England, on the other hand, Shera considers it "probably the greatest single force in the expansion of the public library."[25]

Another aspect of the desire to preserve the cultural heritage must be considered in a frontier society like that of California. Books were very scarce and a supreme luxury. "How would you like to winter in such an abode? in a place where there are no newspapers, no churches, lectures, concerts, or theaters; no fresh books . . . no *nothing?*" asks "Dame Shirley," a pioneer woman of the Gold Rush era.[26]

The rapid development of a periodical press in San Francisco and the Gold Rush towns is an indication of the demand for reading matter. But books were still published on the Atlantic Coast and in Europe and had to be imported. It is reasonable to assume that, even after books became more plentiful, the memo-

[21] Flora H. Apponyi, *The Libraries of California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1878), p. 161.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Hubert H. Bancroft, *Works* (San Francisco: History Co., 1888), XXXIX, 173, 176.

[24] Caughey, *op. cit.*, pp. 531–32.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

[26] Louise A. K. S. Clappe, *The Shirley Letters from California Mines in 1851–52*, ed. Thomas C. Russell (San Francisco: Thomas C. Russell, 1922), pp. 100–101.

ries of the lean days persisted. The idea of a community collection, beyond the resources of all but the wealthiest citizens, would certainly appeal to those who remembered the bookless days of the Gold Rush and the period immediately following it.

Self-improvement.—The idea of self-improvement and of the improvement of others, particularly young men, was undoubtedly an important motivating force in the establishment of public libraries in California. The two association libraries in San Francisco, the Mechanic's Institute and the Mercantile Library Association, were comparable in function and purpose to similar libraries in eastern industrial centers. An example was, therefore, available in California of libraries dedicated to the ideal of self-education. The descriptions of public libraries in county histories indicate that opportunity for self-improvement was one of the major services which their founders hoped to provide.

CONCLUSION

Whether the locale is New England, the northeastern states, Chicago, or California, the same social factors seem to be influential in the foundation of public libraries. Undoubtedly, there was much borrowing of ideas and techniques. But this brief survey demonstrates that we need much more information about those factors and their interrelationships before any extensive generalizations can be made. Regional differences, particularly with regard to the relative importance of the various factors, are perhaps more significant than one would at first suspect from a comparison of the three pioneer studies that have thus far been published.

THE LIBRARIES OF TURKEY

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

THE library situation in Turkey is characterized by an almost fantastic number of Islamic manuscripts and by a library service which is below the standard set in western Europe and North America. Perhaps no community in the modern world has gone forward so rapidly as Turkey; and, in the case of library service, much of this progress has been made in the last decade and is still continuing. Despite Turkey's relative poverty (by western European standards) and the many difficulties involved in reconciling oriental and occidental traditions, library service in Turkey is developing rapidly.

Perhaps the greatest handicap to Turkish librarianship is the lack of any facilities for systematic professional training. For the last decade Adnan Ötüken, now director of the National Library (Millî Kütüphane) in Ankara, has been giving a series of lectures for two hours a week over a two-year period in the University of Ankara. This course has had the very salutary effects of giving some preliminary training and of recruiting many capable young people. However, it is no substitute for the intensive professional training received by librarians in the English-speaking world or for organized systems of apprenticeship and state examinations such as exist in many other countries. Turkish librarians and officials of the Ministry of Education recognize this situation and are making definite plans to give more formal professional training. There will be many difficulties, not the least of which is the fact that there is virtually no professional literature (except for an excellent two-volume introduction to library science and bibliography by Adnan Ötüken[1]). However, there are promising signs. The newly organized Turkish Library Association is planning to issue an official periodical, and several individual librarians are working on bibliographies, translations, and independent studies.

Another handicap is the lack of suitable buildings. Except for some gems of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture in İstanbul (the Köprülü, the Ahmet III, the Ragıp Paşa, and the Nuruosmaniye), the only building in Turkey expressly constructed as a library is the Robert College Library. One building in the Faculty of Agriculture in Ankara has a well-planned wing with a modern stack well (four tiers, with provision for a fifth) and a poorly planned combination library for the faculties of Law and of Economics in İstanbul with modern steel stacks. A wing planned specifically for library use is under construction for the National Library in Ankara. Otherwise, all Turkish libraries are adaptations of buildings originally constructed for other purposes. The building occupied by the National Library was first intended as a night club for government employees. Most of the libraries of İstanbul are in old *medresés* or outbuildings of mosques. Most of the university faculty and institute libraries are crammed into any available space that can be found. Fortunately, nearly all libraries are in fireproof or fire-resist-

[1] *Biblîyotekçinin elkitabı* (2 vols.; Ankara: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1947–48).

ant buildings. Turkey urgently needs to embark upon large-scale construction of new library buildings as soon as it is possible to reduce the Gargantuan budget for national defense.

A third difficulty is the lack of any organized co-operation, particularly in acquisition programs, in policies of cataloging and classification, and in the compilation of union catalogs. The leadership provided by the National Library will probably be a compelling factor in the development of co-operation among the many different agencies which administer the various libraries of Turkey. The National Library, the great manuscript libraries of İstanbul (in three groups—under the Süleymaniye, the Millet, and the Bayazıt, respectively), some higher institutions (e.g., the Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsü, the normal school in Ankara), and most of the provincial libraries are under the director of national libraries in the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, many extremely significant collections, such as those of the Topkapı Sarayı ("Seraglio"), the Archeological Museum in İstanbul, and the Mevlâna Museum in Konya, are responsible to the director of antiquities and museums, also in the Ministry of Education. The University of Ankara, the University of İstanbul, and the Technical University of İstanbul are autonomous and responsible only to the Grand National Assembly. In addition to these libraries, there are collections of government agencies which are subject to the bureau chief or minister concerned, municipal libraries (e.g., the Belediye Kitaplığı in İstanbul), and privately supported libraries (e.g., the Türk Dil Kurumu ["Turkish Linguistic Society"] in Ankara and the Robert College Library). A strong awareness of professional responsibility will be necessary before effective programs of co-operation are accepted by all these types of libraries, even if they are subjected to greater central administrative control.

The problems of cataloging and classification are particularly grave. Adnan Ötüken has provided, in his manual of library science and bibliography, an excellent descriptive cataloging code, based largely on the Prussian *Instruktion*, but with intelligent adaptations. It is accepted by a large number of librarians, particularly those responsible to the director of national libraries and those librarians in Ankara who have studied under Ötüken. There are, however, many deviant forms of descriptive cataloging, ranging from the excellent work in the General Library of the University of İstanbul, strongly dependent on the ALA Code, to illegible manuscript catalogs on cards and sheets of nonstandard size.

The system of classification used most widely is the Brussels Expansion. It is reserved mainly for classed catalogs and not for shelving. Of the major libraries of Turkey, only the General Library of the University of İstanbul shelves its books according to the U.D.C., although some others use broad subject arrangement. Accordingly, it is not possible to permit open access to the shelves in most libraries. Some of the classed catalogs are fairly good, but most of them suffer from the great deficiency of giving only one number to each book (just as in the shelf-list of a library with classified shelving). Moreover, none of them has an alphabetical index, although there will be one for the classed catalog now being prepared at the National Library. The subject headings familiar in Anglo-American practice may be found only in the catalogs of the libraries of the United States Information Service and the British Council in İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir, and, strangely enough, in English for the

English-language books in the well-organized library of the Teknik Okul in İstanbul.

There is, in general, no differentiation in administrative policies for various types of libraries. For example, the collections of a few thousand miscellaneous books in the *lycées* (secondary schools) are selected, organized for use, and administered in a manner not very different from that used in a university library or even a manuscript library. Consequently, the school libraries are almost completely ineffective. Much the same is true for institutions which purport to be public libraries in the Anglo-American sense but which lack an alphabetical subject catalog, a classified arrangement of books on the shelves, and skilled professional assistance to readers. Nor do they lend books for home use.

Finally, there is the great difficulty of lack of funds. While it would be unreasonable, at present, to expect the Turkish state substantially to increase its appropriations to libraries, every institution needs funds for its basic needs, and it should have the privilege of administering them on its own initiative. The great manuscript libraries of İstanbul have no funds for acquisition even of basic reference works, and they are compelled to resort to the exchange of less valuable copies of unaccessioned manuscripts and to the soliciting of gifts. The school libraries have no funds of their own and add only those books that are sent to them by the Ministry of Education. Thus it is impossible to relate the holdings of a specific school library to local needs or to the curriculum of the institution which it is supposed to serve.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly, however, that these difficulties are minor, as compared with those faced by Turkish libraries at the beginning of the forties. The "before and after" photographs of the buildings occupied by the Süleymaniye and the Bayazıt are evidence enough of the progress that has been made in a short space of time; and there is every reason to assume that only a national catastrophe can prevent the steady march forward.

Unfortunately, there is no complete description of the libraries of Turkey. Joseph A. Dagher's *Répertoire des bibliothèques du proche et du moyen-orient*, published by UNESCO in 1951, lists seventy-four Turkish libraries. While Dagher's work is a promising beginning, he was handicapped by being compelled to conduct his investigations by correspondence, and therefore his list is incomplete and his information at times misleading. Muzaffer Gökman, director of the Bayazıt Library, published the third edition of his *Guide to the Libraries of İstanbul* in English and Turkish in 1951, but he gives only the addresses of the principal libraries and the holdings in manuscripts and printed books in the component collections of each of the libraries. Detailed statistics of holdings and attendance at all the libraries throughout Turkey which are responsible to the director of national libraries, and of all the former Halkevleri ("people's houses"—community cultural centers originally established by Atatürk's Republican People's party and now the property of the state) are compiled by the Ministry of Education and published periodically by the General Directorate of Statistics under the title of *Genel kitaplıklar ve müzeler ile, halkevleri, odaları ve okuma odaları kitaplıkları*. Unfortunately, it appears only after some delay, and the latest compilation, for 1944–45, was not published until 1947. There is no statistical or descriptive information on other types of libraries, and there is virtually no informa-

tion on library history as such, except what may be gleaned from Adnan Ötüken's manual, the rather slender guides to libraries, and the none-too-reliable handbooks for tourists.

The National Library has already been described on two occasions in the western European library press,[2] but it is in constant evolution and deserves continuing review and attention. Its most noteworthy recent achievements have been to secure funds for a new wing and to effect the transfer of the Turkish Copyright Office (Basma Yazı ve Resimleri Derleme Bürosu) to the National Library, thus taking over the responsibility for distribution of copyright material (one copy each to the National Library, the so-called "National Library"—actually a kind of public library—of İzmir, the Bayazıt in İstanbul, the General Library of the University of İstanbul, and the Genel Kitaplık—or public library—of Ankara). The National Library will also publish the Turkish national bibliography, *Türkiye Bibliyografyası*, in the future and will provide brief annotations for each title in English. This extremely significant bibliography has been appearing since 1928 and is a comprehensive list of all Turkish private and official publications. It is in a broad classified arrangement roughly following the U.D.C., and it has author and printer indexes. There is a decennial cumulation, 1928–38, in two volumes (Vol. I, official documents; Vol. II, commercial and private publications).

The National Library first opened its doors to the public in August, 1948, although it had enjoyed the benefit of a decade and a half of accumulation of copyright copies of Turkish books, periodicals, and newspapers by the Ministry of Education. It has grown rapidly, now containing over 160,000 volumes, including basic bibliographical and reference tools. Book funds appropriated by the government for the purchase of foreign books and periodicals would seem to be relatively slight for a library of its pretensions, and it usually receives only a little more than 100,000 Turkish pounds to buy on the same market as the relatively well-supported libraries of North America. Fortunately, however, it has the support of one of the most successful of all "friends of the library" organizations, the Millî Kütüphane ye Yardım Derneği ("Society To Aid the National Library"), whose extremely energetic president is Orhan Alisbah, professor of mathematics at the University of Ankara. In some years the supplementary appropriations by this society have been twice as large as the appropriation from the government.

It is the intention of the National Library to have an absolutely complete collection of books printed in Turkish, including the estimated 30,000 "Turkish incunabula" (books printed in Turkey between 1729, date of the introduction of printing, and 1928, date of the introduction of the Latin alphabet), and it is making substantial progress toward this goal. It also has a well-equipped microfilm laboratory and plans to microfilm every significant manuscript in Turkey and to hold the negatives in Ankara. While the National Library acquires a few manuscripts in the collections which it buys en bloc, it does not propose to attempt to build a collection to rival those of the great libraries of İstanbul.

The staff consists of fifty-three members, including servants and workers in the library bindery. Only Adnan Ötüken

[2] Adnan Ötüken, "The Youngest National Library in the World," *Libri*, I (1950), 171–72; and G. A. Glaister, "The National Library of Turkey," *Library Association Record*, LIII (1951), 50–52.

has had formal training in librarianship (in Berlin), but nearly all professional workers have taken his course at the University of Ankara. It is the policy of the library to encourage its workers to travel and study abroad as much as possible; at the time of this writing, several are studying in England and on the Continent. Unfortunately, job classification is consistent with the government's general civil service policy, and salaries are more dependent on seniority than on competence and institutional value. The same is true for all other libraries responsible to the Ministry of Education.

The cataloging is meticulously accurate according to the code drawn up by Ötüken. Rules for author entry are quite similar to those employed in German libraries. Title cards for each book are interfiled with the author cards, and a separate classed catalog is being compiled. So far, the copyright books have not been fully cataloged; when they are, it may be hoped that some facilities will be provided for duplicating the cards for the benefit of foreign libraries which collect Turkish books.

The National Library does not permit home loan of books, but plans are now being completed for the establishment of a loan collection, first for fiction and later for popular nonfiction as well. When it is established, it will be the only loan collection available to the general public in Ankara, except for the libraries of the United States Information Service and the British Council.

While it is not within the province of this paper to discuss the foreign information-service libraries in Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir, their influence on Turkish librarianship cannot be underestimated. Each of these collections is a typical Anglo-American public library in miniature, containing some 5,000–10,000 of the best general books and reference works published in England and the United States. Indeed, of many scholarly journals and other publications (e.g., *Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicus*) they contain the only copies which are available in Turkey. The catalogs resemble those of the typical Anglo-American public library (author, title, alphabetical subject), and the reference service and other distinctive features of work with the public are carried on in the same manner as in the homeland. The librarians are taking a positive interest in Turkish librarianship; and, both by example and by active assistance, they are influencing all types of libraries, scholarly and popular, to adopt procedures and policies which have proved effective in all types of libraries in western Europe and North America.

The second-largest nonacademic library of Ankara is that of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, or TBMM), which, for many years prior to the founding of the National Library, was considered by many to be a national library in the same sense as the Library of Congress. It was born with the Turkish Republic in 1923, althought it inherited a few books from the library of the rather ineffectual old assembly established by Abdülhamid after the "Young Turk" disturbances of 1908. Total holdings are said to be close to 92,000 volumes; and about 15,000 Turkish pounds are available annually for the purchase of new books and periodicals, resulting in annual increments of something like 1,500 volumes a year. The library is particularly strong in Turkish books in Arabic script (i.e., "Turkish incunabula"), in newspapers from about 1860 on, and in legal material. In addition to the author and title catalogs on cards, there are printed

classed catalogs for oriental books (issued in 1931, 1934, and 1941) and for western European books (issued in 1945). The physical quarters of the library, in the present building of the TBMM, are crowded and awkward; but the new building of the TBMM, now under construction, will provide adequate space. Although use is reserved primarily for deputies (who also have the privilege of home loan), properly qualified scholars may use the library if the material that they need is unavailable elsewhere.

The Genel Kitaplık ("General Library") of Ankara was one of the first libraries founded under the republic, and it was originally intended to serve as a research library as well as a general public library. Its holdings consist of some 45,000 printed books and 2,000 manuscripts. The books include about 10,000 Turkish books in Arabic script, 23,000 modern Turkish books (received as a legal depository for copyright books), and 12,000 books in western European languages. The manuscripts—Turkish, Arabic, and Persian—derive in part from collections of the *tekkeler* ("dervish monasteries"), which were dissolved in 1925. The present quarters of the Genel Kitaplık are very poorly adapted for library use, and the bookstacks are in a basement below the surface of the street. Fortunately, the Halkevi in Ankara will soon be made available to the Genel Kitaplık, which will occupy the entire first floor of this spacious and modern building. Whether the Ankara Halkevi's collection of some 7,000 Turkish books and 13,000 books in European languages will be incorporated with the collections of the Genel Kitaplık is a question that has not yet been decided.

Four hundred Halkevi libraries, most of them quite small, were listed in the statistics compiled by the Ministry of Education for 1944–45. The Ankara Halkevi's collection was by far the largest; and the average holdings of printed books (mostly modern Turkish) in the other Halkevleri probably ran under 2,000. When the Democratic party won the elections of 1950, one of the first steps of the new government was to abolish the Halkevleri. The buildings and the libraries are the property of the republic, but the *vali* ("governor") of each province will be permitted to make the final decisions about their future use. Needless to say, it would be a blessing for Turkey if the Halkevleri could be used exclusively for library purposes.

There are, of course, a number of government libraries in Ankara. The Ministry of Health has a collection of some 9,000 volumes, mostly in western European languages. The Ministry of National Defense has a collection of about 15,000 volumes. The Ministry of Education, the General Directorate of Statistics, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of the Interior, and several other agencies have similar libraries of varying size and utility, although they cannot properly be said to be strong research collections or even reasonably comprehensive in their current acquisition policies. The medical-library situation is especially grave in a country which is so urgently in need of medical research. As we shall note, the library of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Ankara is very poorly supported; and, aside from the Ministry of Health library, there is only the small collection of approximately 5,000 books in the Refik Saydam Central Institute of Health. Holdings of medical serials are very meager. No medical library in Ankara receives any parts of *Excerpta medica*, and none has the *Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicus* or a full set of the

Surgeon General's *Catalog* (a partial set of which is in the National Library). Of the other scientific libraries, only that of the Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü ("Mining Inspection and Research Institute") seems to be very strong. It holds some 6,000 books, 4,000 bound volumes of periodicals, and 15,000 pamphlets in the fields of geology, mining and metallurgical engineering, paleontology, general and physical chemistry, and basic physics. It has about 16,000 Turkish pounds a year for new books and periodicals; and, in addition, it has its own valuable research series (including the geological map of Turkey) for exchange.

Two special libraries in Ankara which deserve special attention are those of the Türk Dil Kurumu ("Turkish Linguistic Society"), located in its own separate building on Cihan Sokak, and of the Türk Tarih Kurumu ("Turkish Historical Society"), presently located in the building of the Faculty of Letters, History, and Geography but soon to acquire its own building. Both societies were founded by Atatürk (in 1932 and 1931, respectively), and both received handsome endowments by the terms of his will. Their income ranges from 100,000 to 150,000 Turkish pounds per annum; and, in addition, both societies have long received a regular supplementary appropriation from the government. The government appropriation for the Türk Dil Kurumu was cut off when the Democrats came into power. Income from membership dues is relatively slight. With their rather comfortable financial resources, both societies have built handsome libraries and have issued many significant publications. For example, the Türk Tarih Kurumu has brought out a beautiful facsimile of the famous Pîrî Reis map of America and important archeological monographs, in addition to its regular *Belleten*. The Türk Dil Kurumu has published the basic Turkish dialect dictionaries (for central Asian Turkish dialects as well as those of Turkey proper) and a regular serial. It has just begun to issue (in October, 1951) a new periodical entitled *Türk Dili*, at this writing the best literary journal in Turkey.

The Türk Tarih Kurumu owns some 40,000 printed books and 200 manuscripts relative to Turkish history and peripheral subjects. At present, it spends only 10,000 Turkish pounds for books and periodicals (in addition to opportunities offered by exchange of its publications, partly in western European languages), but in the past it spent much larger sums and acquired entire collections, e.g., the splendid collection on Byzantine history and archeology formerly known as the "Syllagos Library." It holds many important western European printed documents relating to Turkey, especially the reports of Italian travelers in the Ottoman Empire. As an archeological collection it is rivaled only by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and the library of the Archeological Museum in İstanbul.

The Türk Dil Kurumu's collection is smaller, containing only about 10,000 volumes. However, it is virtually complete for Turko-Tataric linguistics; it equals or excels most western European and North American university libraries in Indo-European linguistics; and it contains representative grammars, dictionaries, and basic monographs for other linguistic groups. It has complete files of the basic journals in general and Indo-European linguistics, although it does not own many of the European academy publications which have issued so much important linguistic material. It spends about 7,000 Turkish pounds per annum for new books and periodicals.

The university library situation in Turkey is rather paradoxical. Although the universities of Ankara and İstanbul spend as much for library service as do most medium-sized American universities, or even more, they get nothing like the same results. The reason is that there is no centralized administration of the university libraries to enforce economy, and even within the individual faculties there is a large number of institute, seminar, and office collections. No single individual in the universities of Ankara or İstanbul or at the Technical University of İstanbul knows how many libraries there are in the institution as a whole, and no one knows the exact number of volumes in all the libraries, the number of employees (including attendants in institute and seminar libraries), or the amount of money spent for library service as a whole. With one or two exceptions, the librarians have little or no professional education beyond having audited Adnan Ötüken's course, and not even all the Ankara librarians have had this training. The librarians are generally (but not always) university graduates and frequently men and women of considerable native competence; but none of them enjoys the status or salary of a faculty member.

The faculties in the University of Ankara are those of Letters, History, and Geography; Political Economy; Law; Medicine; Science; Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine; and Theology. The last-named is quite new and has not as yet developed library resources. The best-organized library is unquestionably that of the Faculty of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine. Founded in 1933 by Joseph Stummvoll, the present head of the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, this library is now a good general collection in its field, with some 50,000 volumes, of which about 10,000 are bound serials. It has about 6,000 Turkish pounds per annum for new books. Like all the other faculty libraries in both Ankara and İstanbul, it has access to faculty publications—serial and separate—for exchange. The stack well is the only one in Turkey, except for that of Robert College, but reading-room space is at a premium. Even in this well-organized, well-cataloged library, there is evidence that a central library administration for the University of Ankara would be most desirable. For example, several thousand of its volumes (including valuable serials) are in the humanities; they are never used here but could readily find a place in the Faculty of Letters, History, and Geography.

The Faculty of Letters, History, and Geography also is gravely handicapped by lack of adequate quarters and does not even have a proper reading-room for the central library. A library wing is to be added to the faculty's handsome new building at some indeterminate future date. There are ten seminar libraries; but there is no complete union catalog, and existing catalogs are in a somewhat confused condition. Nevertheless, this faculty has some exceedingly rich collections in its estimated 125,000 volumes. It owns approximately 13,000 Turkish, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts and close to 40,000 printed books in Turkish. Its collections in other fields are only fair; and a large proportion of books is in German, owing to the great influence of German professors who taught in the university during the 1930's. The faculty as a whole has about 15,000 Turkish pounds per annum to spend for new books.

The permanent buildings of the faculties (except Political Economy and Law) are scattered so widely over the city of Ankara as to make consolidation impos-

sible. Although the faculties of Political Economy and of Law are in neighboring buildings, there is little co-operation between them, except for some reciprocal lending privileges. The law library contains more than 35,000 books and has about 25,000 Turkish pounds per annum to spend for new books. About 3,000 new volumes are added annually. The 213 periodicals received in this library represent considerably more than the number received in either of the other two faculty libraries discussed thus far; but it is too small a number for the curriculum of this faculty. There is a beautifully appointed, well-lighted reading-room with two hundred seats and a spacious, although somewhat inaccessible, subterranean stackroom. The Library of the Faculty of Political Economy has existed since the faculty was founded in 1856, but most of its 15,000 books are modern. It receives approximately 750 current periodicals, more than all the other faculties together. In the past it has had 20,000 Turkish pounds annually available for new books, but this year it is expected to have 35,000.

The Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Science are not yet in permanent homes, and library service in both is relatively poorly developed. The Faculty of Medicine contains only about 6,000 volumes and receives only about 150 periodicals currently. It contains none of the basic bibliographies. The books and periodicals are scattered among no less than twenty clinic and seminar collections; relatively few are in the central library. There is a book fund of 10,000 Turkish pounds annually, but no less than 75 per cent of this sum must be spent for medical textbooks. Students, in general, are unable to purchase expensive medical textbooks, and a large proportion of the readers in the National Library, the Genel Kitaplık, and even the United States Information Service Library use the medical textbooks in these collections.

The Faculty of Science is quite new, having been founded only in 1943. The total holdings amount to only 7,000 volumes, and only 120 periodicals are received regularly. Most of the books are scattered among seminar libraries, and each department spends whatever is necessary from its own funds to satisfy its book needs. There is no adequate union catalog.

Every faculty except Agriculture and Veterinary Science has a plethora of institute, seminar, and office collections. Only in Law, Medicine, and Political Economy is there any central cataloging; but even here the librarians have little control over the books, once they are placed in collections outside the central library. Shelving is haphazard, usually by *numerus currens* in central libraries and by broad subject arrangement in the smaller (generally open-shelf) collections. Home loan is a generally established policy, although there are some exceptions in office collections.

The situation at the University of İstanbul is quite similar. There is, however, one significant difference: a central university building is now being constructed quite near the present General Library, and it is expected that this building will be large enough to provide classrooms for all the sixteen thousand students in the metropolis. When this building is occupied, there will be an unusual opportunity to provide centralized administration, if not housing, of the university's various collections, now scattered all over the city and on both sides of the Golden Horn.

The General Library of the University of İstanbul is primarily a distinguished

collection of orientalia. It ranks with the National Library as the best-administered library in Turkey, but, unfortunately, the director has no real administrative authority over any of the faculty libraries. Its fabulous collection of about 18,000 of the most beautiful and significant manuscripts in the country gives it a unique position among the libraries of Turkey. The 135,000 printed books are distinguished for the virtually complete collection of Turkish incunabula and a good collection of periodicals and printed books in the field of Islamic culture.

In the faculties of Law and Economics there are central libraries. Indeed, the two share a common reading-room (but not a common bookstack or a common administration, despite the similarity of their holdings). It is generally admitted by librarians and faculty members that the many architectural faults of this library wing of the building, which is shared by both faculties, are due to the architect, who had never seen a modern library and drew this one from his imagination. The law library contains about 20,000 volumes, adds about 750 books annually, and receives about 100 current periodicals. Although the Faculty of Law had existed for many years prior to the Turkish Revolution as a school of Islamic law in the old Darülfûnun, the few books that have survived are of no practical value to the modern faculty. On the other hand, the library of the Faculty of Economics dates only from 1936, when it was organized by a German professor. It contains 18,000 volumes, adds about 1,500–2,000 new books annually, and receives about 100 periodicals. In both the faculties there are four institute libraries.

The central library of the Faculty of Medicine is actually a depository of some 10,000 bound periodicals, about 250 of which are current. It has been roughly estimated that there may be as many as 60,000 books in the various clinic libraries. A textbook service is also maintained in the central library, and it seems to attract the greatest proportion of the readers.

The library of the Faculty of Forestry dates from 1934. It includes some 8,000 books (predominantly German), adds about 500 new volumes annually, and receives 50 periodicals and 25 other serials regularly. There are eight institute libraries. Since the faculty is located in a rather isolated part of the countryside and since a large proportion of the students are boarders, it is in an excellent position to develop unusual types of special service.

Of the libraries in the faculties of Literature and Science, only that of the Türkiyât Enstitüsü need be noted. It is an outstanding collection, dealing with all aspects of Turkology, both within and outside the borders of present-day Turkey. It contains 41,200 printed books (no manuscripts) and is rivaled only by the General Library and the library of the Türk Tarih Kurumu for its resources in this field. The Katanoff collection of Russian books is especially significant for its materials on the Turks now in the Soviet Union.

The book funds available to the various libraries of the University of İstanbul are as follows: The General Library and the faculties of Law and of Economics each has 20,000 Turkish pounds per annum; the faculties of Medicine, Science, and Literature each has 40,000 per annum. The Faculty of Forestry, located at Büyükdere-Bahçeköy about twelve miles up the Bosporus, has 9,000 Turkish pounds per annum for books and periodicals. If we add to this total of 189,000 pounds an additional sum of about 20,000

to include the value of the depository privilege at the General Library, we have a figure that is considerably larger than the appropriations of most European university libraries and equivalent to the book fund of a medium-sized American university library. The sum available for books at İstanbul may be even greater, since many of the clinics have independent incomes and apply part of them to book purchases. It was not possible to ascertain how many institute, seminar, and office collections there are in the faculties of Science and of Literature, neither of which has a central library, or in the Faculty of Medicine. No one knows how many books are in these collections, and no one knows the total administrative cost of maintaining the very large number of small units.

The Turkish government supports two parallel technological institutions about two miles apart in İstanbul. One is the Teknik Okul at Yıldız, and the other is the Teknik Üniversite just beyond Taksim. Both are full five-year engineering colleges with curriculums in civil, mechanical, electrical, and architectural engineering; and their physical facilities, including their libraries, are identical. Originally, the Teknik Okul offered only a three-year course (such as that still given by the Robert College School of Engineering), but in the last few years it has duplicated the Teknik Üniversite in every respect. The Teknik Okul is still subject to the Ministry of Education, but the Teknik Üniversite, like the universities of Ankara and İstanbul, is autonomous.

The library of the Teknik Üniversite dates from 1795, when Selim III founded a school of terrestrial engineering on the southern (Stambul) side of the Golden Horn. The statute establishing the institution mentions a library. Subsequently, the school became a university, and the old library was reformed to meet the needs of a modern technological institution. The old library had received many books in the field of physics from Selim's personal collection, and foreign governments also presented works on technology and military science. At the beginning of the present century the school was divided into a school of civil engineering and a school of military engineering, and the latter was later incorporated into the War College, which dates from 1834. Thus the library contains a large number of books not in its field, which were received as gifts, and also many superannuated volumes. Probably little more than half its total collection of 23,274 volumes is active. Indeed, the 10,000 Turkish incunabula are not cataloged or available for circulation. About 500–600 new books are added annually, 165 periodicals are received by subscription, and about 100 more by exchange. The library receives 9,000 Turkish pounds annually for acquisitions, but this is not the total spent by the Teknik Üniversite for library service. The four faculties spend about 40,000 pounds, and some 25,000 books and periodicals are scattered throughout the plant in office and institute collections. At present, the librarian of the central library is compiling a union catalog of all technological serials in the Teknik Üniversite as well as in other libraries in Turkey. It should be noted that the active collection of the central library has been carefully cataloged and classified (although shelving is by *numerus currens*), and arrangements for service seem to be exceptionally good.

Founded in 1937, the Teknik Okul has had a library from the very beginning. It now contains about 16,000 volumes, adds about 500–600 new books annually, and receives 128 current periodicals. The

book fund is 10,000 pounds per annum. With the exception of a few older editions of modern books, virtually the entire collection is active. Although the library is in extremely cramped quarters, arrangements for service are unusually effective. The books are meticulously cataloged and classified by the U.D.C. and are arranged on the shelves by classification number. In addition, there is a subject catalog, with Library of Congress subject headings in English for books in the English language. The Teknik Okul is the only higher institution in Turkey which has no seminar, institute, or departmental collection.

For many years, the best-organized libraries in Turkey were those of the American College for Girls at Arnavutköy and of Robert College at Bebek, about a half-hour on the tram from Taksim. The American College for Girls was chartered in 1890 and now contains about 20,000 carefully selected volumes. Both the collection and the administration of the library conform to the standards set up for American junior colleges. Robert College was founded in 1863 and now has a collection of 54,500 volumes. It, too, meets the standards set up by accrediting associations for junior colleges in the United States. Both Robert College and the American College for Girls are afflicted by the same financial difficulties that beset private institutions in the United States in these days of stationary endowment, declining interest rates, and inflationary prices: the relative poverty of both these institutions permits them to appropriate only $1,000.00 and $500.00 a year, respectively, for the purchase of books. However, the influence of the two institutions has penetrated all aspects of Turkish intellectual life, including librarianship, and their total effect as a bridge over which western European culture has reached Turkey is far greater than that of all the information services of foreign governments. Neither the schools nor their libraries pretend to be research collections, but the Near Eastern Collection at Robert College contains most of the important works dealing with this part of the world which were published during the last century.

Of the various vocational and teacher-training institutions in Turkey, it will be possible to mention only the Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsü in Ankara. It is a two-year normal school which trains elementary-school inspectors and secondary-school teachers. The library contains about 21,000 volumes, of which 7,000 are in foreign languages, and it receives 300 current periodicals. The collection is quite active, and this library might well become a strong center of research in the field of education, if given adequate support.

Of the museum libraries, unquestionably the richest is that of the Topkapı Sarayı, which has a great collection of oriental and Greek manuscripts. Its holdings in printed books are negligible. The library of the Archeological Museum of İstanbul is mentioned in the same connection, although its comprehensive collections of 50,000 books and serials (bibliographical count) in the field of Turkish archeology from prehistoric times to the present day overshadow the 1,700 manuscripts it owns. A third library which is described along with these two museum libraries is that of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in İstanbul, whose 14,000 volumes are still probably the best working collection in this field in Turkey, even though there have been no accessions since 1944.

Among provincial museum libraries, the finest is that of the Mevlâna Museum

in Konya. It contains 1,500 manuscripts in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian and about 3,000 printed books. The most valuable manuscripts are on exhibit in the museum (the old monastery), and they include Seljuk Qur'ans, a manuscript in Kufic script, some exceptionally handsome fourteenth- and fifteenth-century divans, unusually fine specimens of binding dating from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, and many remarkable examples of calligraphy. In content, it is quite similar to the small depositories of manuscripts in İstanbul.

Of the other research collections of İstanbul, perhaps the most important depository of printed books is the library of the Greek Patriarchate. There are 7,126 books at the Patriarchal See in Fener and an additional 19,204 in the library of the theological seminary at the Monastery of the Holy Trinity on the island of Halki (Sea of Marmora). All the manuscripts and archives are at the Patriarchal See itself. The collection of printed books is extremely significant for church history and Byzantine culture as well as for exegesis and general theology. There is also some useful material in the fields of geography, numismatics, archeology, and Greek literature. A small collection of printed books and manuscripts may also be found in the Armenian Patriarchate in İstanbul.

No library mentioned thus far is a public library in the Anglo-American or northern European sense of the word. The Süleymaniye and the Millet libraries contain many printed books, even some modern ones, but they are public libraries only in the sense that all qualified scholars have access to them. Of the three principal libraries in İstanbul which are responsible to the director of national libraries, only the Bayazıt has some of the basic characteristics of a true public library. Ideally, these three libraries and those smaller libraries which are responsible to them should have their holdings pooled and redistributed, a procedure which would cause little or no damage, inasmuch as cataloging is by no means complete or perfect. One library (or one division of a larger library) would hold the manuscripts and rare books, while another library (or another division of the same larger library) would hold the modern books which are replaceable. The logical library, at present, for this latter function is the Bayazıt, since its manuscript holdings are comparatively small (approximately 8,000 volumes) and its holdings of modern books comparatively large (possibly as many as 100,000 will be found after the various collections have been cataloged). Although the Bayazıt receives all Turkish books in accordance with the copyright law, it has no money for the purchase of multiple copies or of foreign books and serials. It has had to depend heavily on gifts from the time of its foundation by Abdülhamid II, in 1882, to the present day. One particularly noteworthy collection is the library of the late İsmail Fenni Ertuğrul, who died in 1946 and willed his private collection to the Bayazıt; but there have also been various other important donors in the last three-quarters of a century.

The Bayazıt is not, however, the only institution in İstanbul which could serve as a public library. Across the Bayazıt Square, in a *medresé* formerly attached to the Bayazıt Mosque, is the Belediye ("Municipal") Library, supported by the city of İstanbul. While it is especially noteworthy for its virtually complete collection of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century newspapers as well as for a handsome collection of several thousand

(as yet uncataloged) Armenian books, it is basically a collection of modern books (about 60,000). There are barely 1,000 manuscripts, few of any great importance. Most of the collection is derived from gifts presented at various times, and each donation is housed in a separate room in the rectangular *medresé*, with the name of the donor over the room. The library receives 10,000 Turkish pounds annually for current expenses, but it is possible to assign only one-fourth of this sum to the book fund.

Outside Ankara and İstanbul there are ninety-one libraries in the system supervised by the director of national libraries, according to the official list of the Ministry of Education. These institutions are in addition to the Halkevleri. However, Dagher lists and describes only fifty-one such libraries. With the sole exception of the so-called "Nationa Library" of İzmir, none of these libraries is of major significance. Most of them have less than 5,000 printed books, and these are generally of a highly miscellaneous character. However, many of them have quite valuable collections of manuscripts, some containing 2,000 or more pieces. Moreover, since many of them date their foundations from the eighteenth century, a large number of rare Turkish incunabula as well as other scarce Islamic printed books are likely to be found among them. Their catalogs are in varying states of excellence, although all of them are endeavoring to follow the policies for author, title, and classed catalogs set up by the director of national libraries for all libraries under his jurisdiction. Just as in İstanbul and Ankara, the librarians have varying educational backgrounds, and none has formal professional training. One of the important jobs of Turkish librarianship in the immediate future is to arrange for a careful survey of the manuscripts and rare books in provincial libraries and to print accurate catalogs of the manuscripts. It may well be that the holdings of the provincial libraries in manuscripts are, as a group, comparable to those of the Süleymaniye or the General Library of the University of İstanbul.

The "National Library" of İzmir is particularly important, being one of the five legal deposit libraries. However, the copyright privilege is the only support it draws from the government. The main source of its income is the annual appropriation of 20,000–22,000 Turkish pounds granted by a society of friends of the library, the İzmir Millî Kütüphane Derneği. This society owns the Alhambra Theater next door to the library and grants to the library all the profits of the theater. There are a few gifts from other sources. According to its latest annual report, it contains 52,460 printed books and 1,595 manuscripts. Of the printed books, 7,241 are Turkish books in the old script, whereas 31,289 are Turkish books in the new script. The manuscript collection is fairly typical of the larger provincial libraries, with 340 Turkish manuscripts, 1,254 Arabic manuscripts, and one Persian manuscript. Most of the current funds must be devoted to salaries and binding, since, as a depository, the library receives all current Turkish newspapers and periodicals. It is in a strong position to become a good public library serving the people of İzmir, but its funds are deficient, and its staff lacks formal training.

If the fundamentals of librarianship are books, librarians, and buildings, in that order of importance, the situation of the libraries of Turkey is somewhat anomalous. They are enormously rich in

source materials but extremely poor, by European standards, in modern secondary materials. By oriental standards, only the libraries of Israel and Egypt are comparable in the Near East to those of Turkey. There are many hard-working and devoted librarians, but only two or three have had any formal professional instruction whatsoever. Turkish libraries will not continue to attract promising young men and women, unless librarians are accorded professional dignity and professional security, as in western Europe and America. Only the building situation is clear cut: every library in Turkey, except Robert College and the Faculty of Agriculture in Ankara, could use a new building at once and could thereby double its effectiveness.

The situation that has been described in this essay is not unknown to the responsible officials of the Turkish government. Well aware of the shortcomings of their libraries and of the handicaps under which they must work, they are eager to find a solution consistent with national traditions and characteristics. They only need strong support from the ministries and the Grand National Assembly in order to realize ambitions which are as high as those of any librarians in Europe or North America.

FRANCIS BACON AND THE KING'S PRINTER

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

On April 30, 1621, Francis Bacon presented to the Lord Chief Justice his "Confession and Submission to the House of Lords" to charges of receiving bribes. In article 23 of this document Bacon wrote:

> To the three and twentieth article of the charge, *videlicet*, In the case of Mr. Barker, the Lord Chancellor received from Barker seven hundred pounds:
>
> I confess and declare, That the sum mentioned in the articles was received from Mr. Barker, some time after the decree passed.[1]

Although Barker's gift was the largest which Bacon admitted receiving in cash, in one payment, and from an individual, the giver seems not to have been identified in any life of the Lord Chancellor. He was Robert Barker, the King's Printer, who a few years before had printed and published the 1611 King James Version of the Bible. An examination of the evidence gives some reason to accept Bacon's statement of the circumstances of the gift. It was almost certainly given to Bacon after May 7, 1619, when he had handed down a decision in favor of Barker. And Bacon's receipt of Barker's gift apparently did not move him to rule in Barker's favor when he next faced the Court of Chancery.[2]

Bacon's Chancery suit grew out of a family quarrel. His eldest son had married the eldest daughter of Bonham Norton. Norton was an experienced stationer and of a family well established in the printing trade. He was wealthy and influential; he had been the sheriff of Shropshire and was an alderman of London. But he was a hard, grasping, covetous man. Barker, although he had accumulated a fortune from Bible-printing, needed money and entered into a partnership with John Bill and Norton. Soon after, Norton attempted by none too ethical means to take from him the office of King's Printer which he and his father had long held.[3] A Chancery suit resulted in a victory for Barker. Some time after this, according to Bacon, he received the gift of £700.

Bacon may have reasoned as he did when he accepted gifts from the London grocers and apothecaries (articles 24–26 of the "Confession"), that he had acted as arbiter between Barker and Norton. Bacon had appointed, at the beginning of the suit, Sir Henry Savile and Sir

[1] *Works*, ed. J. Spedding (London, 1868–74), XIV, 259; Great Britain, Parliament, House of Lords, *Journal of the House of Lords* (158 vols.; London, [n.d.]), III, 98–101.

[2] H. R. Plomer, "The King's Printing Office under the Stuarts," in *The Library*, II (new ser., 1901), 360–63.

[3] Barker's difficulties with Norton were of long standing. Before June 30, 1601, he had complained to the Privy Council that Bonham Norton and his cousin John Norton "procured one Andrew Harte, a Scot, to draw over the seas sondry English printers to . . . Dort for the imprintinge of the English Bible" (which was Barker's highly profitable and closely guarded monopoly) "and other priviledged bookes there." Furthermore, Barker charged, the Nortons and Harte "themselves have at their own charges imprinted the [Sternhold and Hopkins] Psalms in metre serving to no'ther purpose but to annex to the said or like Bible."

The Privy Council, in answer to this complaint, ordered the master and wardens of the Stationers' Company to call the Nortons before them, charge them with the abuses which Barker and others should allege against them, take their answers and certify the same to the Council (*Acts of the Privy Council*, XXXII (new ser., 1907), 14–16.

Marmaduke Darrell to attempt to settle the complicated suit by arbitration. Both of these arbiters were evidently friends of both parties. Savile, the sole layman among the translators of the 1611 King James Bible, was the provost of Eton College. Barker lived not far from the college, had married the daughter of a former provost, William Day, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and their third son, Charles, at the time of the suit was a student at Eton.[4] Norton, too, was almost certainly acquainted with Savile. His cousin and partner, John Norton, had published at Eton College Savile's edition of Chrysostom (1610–13), and at John's death, in 1612, Bonham took over the publication, which was printed at Eton College under Savile's close supervision.

Darrell, the cofferer to the king, also lived not far from Eton. His son had but recently been graduated from the college.[5] He, too, was almost certainly acquainted with both the contending stationers. But despite this presumed advantage, Savile and Darrell failed to settle the case by arbitration.

When, on May 7, 1619, Bacon gave his decision for Barker—in which he used acrimonious terms toward Norton—he may have considered how he had, by resolving the case, put an end to an expensive suit which the arbiters had failed to settle and that he was therefore morally entitled to the rewards of a friend. But £700—the equivalent of $75,000 in modern inflated purchasing values—was a very large gift from a man who was heavily in debt. If Bacon's motives were clear (and they may well have been), Barker's, we can be quite sure, were not. Indeed, an account of the transaction recorded from notes made in the House of Commons in March, 1621, shows him in a bad light. According to it Barker, while the trial was on, gave £500 to two of Bacon's servants as a bribe. They gave bond to return the money if the decision went against him. It is not stated in the account that Bacon himself received the gift until he had given the decision. Barker then tore up the bond and told the servants to carry the money to their master. To the original £500 Barker added £200 "by way of thankfulness."[6] In judging Barker's action, we must remember that his adversary in the case was rich and unscrupulous.

But the Chancery decree did not alter the fact that Barker was in debt. He sought money and obtained it—by entering into another partnership with Norton! Bacon agreed on December 9, 1619, to the cancellation of the former decree, and a new agreement was made. The King's Printing Office meanwhile published Bacon's *Novum organum* in 1620 with the names of Norton and Bill in the colophon.

But the new partnership was doomed to fail, and the partners were soon again before Chancery. If Barker hoped for a speedy decision in his favor because of his gift, he was doomed to disappointment.

Meanwhile, for various reasons, the House of Commons became suspicious of Bacon's gift-taking. The line between a legitimate gift (the acceptance of which was a recognized practice) and a bribe was an uncertain one, and Bacon, as a peer, was summoned to answer for his actions before the House of Lords. The Lords heard of Barker's gift—probably through Sherburne, Bacon's secretary, to

[4] Eton College, *Register*, ed. Sir Wasey Sterry (Eton, 1943), p. 20.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[6] W. Notestein and Others (eds.), *Commons Debates, 1621*, VI (New Haven, 1935), 386–87.

whom, apparently, Barker had paid at least part of the money.

On March 21, 1621, Barker, Norton, and Sherburne were examined by a committee of the Lords "touching 700 li or other great summe given by Barker in a cause between Barker, Norten and Bill."[7]

Bacon, faced with the depositions of many witnesses to his gift-taking, which his fellow-peers now interpreted as bribe-taking, made a full confession and received ruinous punishment.

A successor of Bacon as Lord Keeper, Bishop John Williams, did what he could to aid the two stationers. He persuaded the Privy Council, on June 30, 1623, to ask the creditors of Norton not to press for payment until Barker could pay Norton part of the "greate somme being £8000" which he owed him.[8]

But great financial loss did not deter Barker and Norton from continuing their suit. By his conduct Norton lost the good will of the Court of Chancery, which, on October 20, 1629, again decided against him. Norton became enraged and caused a petition to be delivered to the king, accusing the Lord Keeper, Lord Coventry, of accepting a bribe of £600 from Barker to render a decision in his favor. The money was said to have been paid to Lord Coventry's secretary. The petition mentioned the earlier case: Barker's gift to Bacon was stated to have been £1,000.

But Thomas Lord Coventry was not easily intimidated. Barker denied giving a bribe in 1629, and Norton produced no good evidence to support his statement. Norton, before the Star Chamber in July, 1630, was charged with criminal libel, and he and three of his associates were heavily fined and imprisoned. Norton was compelled also to pay £3,000 damages—$300,000 in modern values—to the Lord Keeper and to make public confession of his fault.[9]

Bonham Norton died in 1635, probably while still imprisoned for his accusation against the Lord Keeper and, incidentally, against Barker. And late in the same year Barker was committed for debt to the King's Bench Prison, where he lay for nine years, until he died on January 10, 1645.

[7] MS, in the House of Lords record room. The depositions in the case were removed from the Lords by a writ of *certion* dated May 28, 1621, and have disappeared.

[8] *Acts of the Privy Council, 1623–25*, 1933, p. 43.

[9] *C. S. P. Dom. 1929–31*, pp. 243, 285, 287, 395; *Library* (new ser.), II, 361–68.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TYPOGRAPHY IN CHINA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

K. T. WU

THE use of movable type for printing in China, which may be compared to the English logotype, with each single character represented by its own individual solid type body, dates back to the middle of the eleventh century. During the period of Ching-li (1041–49) in the Sung Dynasty—approximately four centuries before Gutenberg cut his matrices in Mainz—a man by the name of Pi Shêng made separate type out of plastic clay hardened by baking in fire. This momentous event has been recorded by Shên Kua (1032–94), a younger contemporary of the inventor, in his memoirs.[1] To the best of our knowledge, books printed with the earthenware type made at that time are nonexistent, although the famous bibliophile, Yeh Tê-hui (1864–1927), in his catalog noted such a work in his possession. According to him, his copy of the *Wei-Su-chou chi*, a collection of literary writings by Wei Ying-wu of the eighth century, was printed in this medium about the year 1056. He contended that the defective impression betrayed the irregularities and imperfection of the hand-cut clay type used at that time.[2]

There are other isolated references to books printed with movable type, presumably wooden, in the Sung Dynasty. The annotated catalog of rare books in the imperial collection of Emperor Ch'ien-lung lists a copy of the *Classic of Poetry* in which the character *tzŭ* was printed sideways.[3] This is an irrefutable proof that the text was printed with movable type and not from the conventional wooden blocks.

Another work printed in 1221 with movable type—believed to have been wood—was the *Ti-hsüeh*, a compendium of ethics for the emperors, compiled by Fan Tsu-yü (1041–93). This was described by a well-known bibliographer, Miao Ch'üan-sun (1844–1919), in his annotated catalog.[4]

Still another extremely interesting specimen of early movable-type printing is the *Pi-shui ch'ün-ying tai-wên hui-yüan*, an encyclopedia compiled by Liu Ta-k'o for candidates participating in the civil examinations, with a Preface dated 1245. It is in the possession of the Sinological Library in Nanking, which brought out a facsimile reproduction of two leaves of this work in 1928 in a collection of specimen leaves from its rare books.[5] Unlike other works the mode of printing of which is subject to conjecture, this book contains a statement indicating how it was produced. A colophon reads: "Printed with movable type by the Li Tsê-t'ang." In addition, there is a list giving the names of the artisans who were responsible for its production. This

[1] *Mêng-hsi pi-t'an* (*Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an*, 2d series), 18. 7ab; the passage containing details of the invention was translated by Thomas Francis Carter in his *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), pp. 160–61.

[2] *Hsi-yüan tu-shu-chih* (1928), 7. 17b–18a.

[3] *T'ien-lu lin-lang shu-mu hou-pien* (1894), 2. 12b–13a.

[4] *I-fêng-t'ang ts'ang-shu hsü-chi* (1912), 3. 4b.

[5] *P'o-shan shu-ying* (1928).

work, in 90 *chüan* and 1,487 leaves, was probably the most voluminous ever printed with movable type in the early stages of Chinese typography.

By the time of the Yüan (or Mongol) Dynasty, early in the fourteenth century, we have literary evidence of the manufacture and application of wooden type on a more extensive scale. This project was initiated and recorded by Wang Chên, an erudite magistrate of Ching-tê in the province of Anhwei from 1295 to 1301. During his incumbency he wrote the *Nung-shu*, or *Book of Agriculture*, which he intended to have printed. To expedite its publication, he conceived the plan of employing movable type instead of the conventional blocks, thereby reducing labor and expense. In the course of his experiments Wang supervised the cutting of upward of sixty thousand separate type, a task which took no less than two years. Ironically, he never succeeded in having this particular work printed with his font of painstakingly cut wooden type, for, by the time it was ready, the *Book of Agriculture* had already been printed with engraved blocks. Instead, in the course of a single month in about the year 1298, the magistrate used the type to print one hundred copies of the local history of Ching-tê. Unfortunately, none of these seems to be in existence today.

In order to record for posterity his carefully conceived plan, a detailed description of the manufacture of wooden movable type, written in 1314, was appended to Wang's *Book of Agriculture*. In this account, which has been translated in full by Carter,[6] Wang carefully set down the details, including the writing of the rhymes and the cutting, sawing, and finishing of the type, the cases and the placing of the type in them, the making of the revolving table, the setting-up of the type, the construction of the form, the fixing of the type in it, the application of the ink, and the printing. From this interesting account it will be seen that Wang made two distinct contributions: (1) the production of type in such a form that they could be made to fit together in a perfectly even and rigid block and (2) the mechanical arrangement of the numerous symbols of the script so as to make typesetting quick and easy.

In the Ming Dynasty the use of copper movable type was introduced by Hua Sui (1439–1513) of Hsi-shan, modern Wusih in Kiangsu Province. Two prominent families in this locality, Hua and An, issued many important copper movable-type editions. This phase of Chinese typography has been discussed in an earlier article,[7] and we need not dwell on it here. Although we do not have any references as to how these type were produced and used, we have, nevertheless, many extant samples of books printed in this medium. The Library of Congress possesses a number of works printed with copper movable type in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. That they were printed in such a manner was recorded on the folded margins of many books. A careful examination of them reveals that impressions of the same characters in the text are far from uniform. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that they were cut individually and not cast from molds.

The practicability of metallic movable type had been amply demonstrated by the Ming printers, so that early in the Ch'ing Dynasty a prodigious project of printing with copper type, possibly at the suggestion of Jesuit missionaries then in Peking, the capital, was launched. This

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 162–66.

[7] K. T. Wu, "Ming Printing and Printers," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VII (1943), 203–60.

was the printing, in 1728, of an encyclopedia called *Ch'in-ting ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'êng*, compiled in the period of K'ang-hsi (1662–1723) and presented to Emperor Yung-chêng, who reigned from 1723 to 1736. In elegance of form and beauty of impression this work surpassed the finest ever printed up to that time. According to an excellent study made by Lionel Giles, the eminent Sinologist,[8] this work, bound in 5,000 octavo volumes, contains between three or four times as much material as the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Estimating that it contains about one hundred million characters in 800,000 pages, which necessitated the use of between 230,000 and 250,000 separate type, Giles regards the printing of this work as "perhaps the greatest typographical feat the world has seen."

Although there are Chinese references alluding to the fact that the type were cast, Giles stated that an examination of the book by expert printers reveals indubitably that they were actually cut individually. Two different sizes were employed, the larger for the bulk of the work and the smaller for notes. After a small edition of the encyclopedia was printed, the font was stored in the Wu-ying Palace and apparently neglected; as time passed, part of it was stolen. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung there was a shortage of copper; consequently, the incomplete font was melted for the minting of coins.

When the imperial manuscript collection, the celebrated *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu*, was being compiled in 1773, Emperor Ch'ien-lung ordered Chin Chien (d. 1795), superintendent of the Wu-ying Palace printing establishment, to take charge of making reprints of a number of choice titles. Had the metal font existed, the project would have been fairly simple. Chin was faced with the alternative of printing these books either with the prevailing vehicle of blocks or with a font of movable type. After due consideration he decided to adopt the latter method, which, he pointed out, had the advantage of economy and dispatch when printing on an extensive scale. Instead of copper type, he recommended the use of wooden ones, the manufacture of which was simple and expeditious. He proposed that some 6,000 characters in common use be cut from jujube wood, the total number requisite for this purpose depending on the relative frequency of the appearance of those characters. Having obtained the approval of the emperor, Chin proceeded with the plan and, in less than six months, completed a font of about 253,500 wooden type in two sizes, the larger for the text and the smaller for notes and commentaries. It was estimated that the total outlay for a single work like the *Shih-chi* would require 2,675 pear-wood blocks, the entire amount needed for the proposed font.

In the following year (1774), on completion of the font, His Majesty gave this method of printing the name *chü-chên pan* ("assembled-gems edition") and composed a poem to commemorate the initiation of the undertaking. In the course of twenty years, 138 items in nearly eight hundred volumes were printed in a uniform format under the collective title *Wu-ying-tien chü-chên-pên ts'ung-shu.*

In order to set down the history of the enterprise, Chin Chien wrote in 1776 a treatise called *Wu-ying-tien chü-chên-pan ch'êng-shih*, with sixteen woodcuts illustrating the various processes and the implements employed.

[8] *An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopedia, Ch'in Ting Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng* (London: British Museum, 1911).

Large-scale printing with movable type was not generally followed, because it was a comparatively expensive undertaking, even the initial outlay being by no means small. Toward the end of the nineteenth century many provincial publishing offices were established with the purpose of giving wider circulation to old classic books, yet practically all of them used the simpler method of block-printing.

Nevertheless, there were a few private concerns which specialized in movable-type printing, predominantly wooden, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but production was more or less sporadic and the volume relatively insignificant. Some small-size gazettes or bulletins and most directories of officials or wearers of the Crimson Sash were printed with wooden type in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Mei Hwei-li, writing in 1868, reported that in the previous year he had been shown a case of beautifully executed wooden type totaling some 360,000 separate characters. This font was owned by a Chinese official who intended to reprint standard works which had become scarce because of their destruction during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion.[9] Mei added that, in spite of the predominance of the use of wooden type, metal ones such as lead were not unknown.

A simple and inexpensive process was used in casting. Punches were engraved from fine-grained hardwood for striking the matrices in a kind of porcelain paste, later baked in a kiln. These molds were then used to cast type made with an alloy of lead and zinc.

A description of this process was made by a contemporary.[10] About the year 1850 an enterprising Chinese bookseller and printer in Fushan, near Canton, by the name of T'ang manufactured tin type by casting them in clay molds. First he carved the character on a small block of wood; then he made an impression of its face in fine clay, into which the melted tin was poured. Four type were cast at once in a frame. When they were taken out, the clay matrix was broken into pieces, to be remade for a second casting by a similar impression of the wooden type. The tin type were afterward planed to a uniform height, ready for use. A solid piece of rosewood was made into a frame, planed smooth, in which the type were set for printing. T'ang completed two fonts, consisting of more than 200,000 characters. His original motive was to use them to print lottery tickets, but he employed them also for books. An edition of the encyclopedia *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* in 120 volumes and 19,348 folio pages was printed with this font in 1852. Unfortunately, when the T'ai-p'ing rebels sacked Fushan, the printing establishment was demolished and the type irretrievably lost.

Such, in brief, are the highlights of the development of typography in China until the introduction of Western methods during the nineteenth century. Despite its early start and apparent advantages, it never seems to have developed sufficiently to supersede the time-honored xylography. The reasons are not hard to find. Owing to the nonalphabetical nature of Chinese script and the inherent technical difficulties involved in the manufacture and setting of type, block-printing had been more suitable as a vehicle of duplication. One of its main advantages was that it made possible the use of a wide variety of calligraphic styles

[9] "Movable Type," *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, V (1868), 79.

[10] "Movable Metallic Types in Chinese," *Chinese Repository*, XIX (1850), 247–53; for a specimen page of T'ang's type, see *ibid.*, p. 281.

and lent itself to an individuality, much cherished by Chinese scholars, which fonts of more or less standardized type could not possibly impart. Its initial outlay being small, it was fairly simple to operate in a country where skilled labor was cheap and plentiful. Another deterrent to the development of typography in China was that editions issued were usually small and did not warrant the use of typography, a more complicated and seemingly expensive proposition.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the advantages of block-printing, the disadvantages were many. It was not well adapted to ephemeral works, nor was it designed for speed. A set of blocks was good for a single work and could not be used for other purposes. Wooden blocks took up too much space; they rotted, warped, wore out, and were liable to destruction by white ants; lost ones could not be easily replaced. With the coming of missionaries and the introduction of Western knowledge, it was soon discovered that blocks and type for Roman letters do not look well together as letterpress printing.

It was not until the early nineteenth century, when Western missionaries and Sinologists reintroduced metallic-type printing, that sufficient impetus was given to its development that it gradually displaced the use of engraved blocks as a primary vehicle of reproduction. Its use was first introduced in Western literature dealing with Chinese subjects. According to the eminent scholar Friedrich Hirth (1845–1927), he possessed a German work, printed in 1696, which contained the names of all the Chinese emperors down to K'ang-hsi of the Ch'ing Dynasty.[11] Before this there were a few bilingual texts, such as those written by the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were printed from wooden blocks.

In order to propagate the Christian faith and distribute religious literature more economically and expeditiously,[12] Western missionaries resorted to printing on an extensive scale. They set up printing plants in various centers outside China, such as Batavia, Calcutta, Malacca, Penang, Serampore, and Singapore, an imperial edict of 1812 having made it a capital crime for Westerners and Chinese to print books on the Christian religion in China. Some missionary printing, however, was carried on surreptitiously in Canton, a hazardous and costly undertaking. It was only after the Treaty of Nanking of 1843 that five port-cities were opened to the Western powers. Finally, the Toleration Edict of 1844 ended the prohibition of missionary work.

At first, the missionaries adopted the prevalent method of block-printing as well as the newly developed lithographic process. But, realizing the practicability of using metallic type, they began to experiment on them and improve their production. In 1833 there were three small fonts of cut type at Macao, Malacca, and Serampore,[13] but they were used only on a very limited scale.

[11] "Western Appliances in the Chinese Printing Industry," *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new ser., XX (1885), 165.

[12] An interesting study of the comparative cost and advantages and disadvantages of the various mediums of printing was made in 1834 by Walter Henry Medhurst, a missionary-printer. In his study it was found that the cost of printing 2,000 copies of the Bible by xylography would be £1,900 14*s*. 5*d*.; by lithography, including press and stone, £1,261 11*s*.; by typography, including punches and type, £1,498 11*s*. 6*d*. The author concluded: "Thus, upon a review of the whole, it will appear that printing Chinese by metal types is greatly preferable to every other method; that it is highly desirable and exceedingly practicable to procure such types" (see Typographus Sinensis, "Estimate of the Proportionate Expense of Xylography, Lithography and Typography, as Applied to Chinese Printing," *Chinese Repository*, III [1834], 246–52).

[13] Hirth, *op. cit.*

With imagination and foresightedness, early pioneers, such as the London Missionary Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the Presbyterian Board of Missions of the United States, realized that the press was an indispensable agent in the propagation of the Christian faith and that metallic type was the most effective medium. In the early stages of its development, the extraordinary expense involved in its manufacture held out little hope of its being applied on a large scale; but, thanks to the perseverance and ingenuity of those pioneers, they succeeded in bringing down the cost and accelerated the speed of book production.

The first modern font of metallic movable type in China was prepared in Macao in 1815 for the printing of Morrison's *Dictionary* by the East India Company. Robert Morrison (1782–1834), the first Protestant missionary sent to China, in 1807, by the London Missionary Society, was a man of vision and erudition. Prior to his departure for China he had already acquired some knowledge of the Chinese language from a Cantonese named Yang Shan-ta (Yung Sam-tak), whom he met in London.[14] In 1809 he was appointed translator of the East India Company in Macao, where he compiled *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, which the company agreed to publish at its expense. A professional printer by the name of P. P. Thoms was sent out from London about the year 1814, together with a press, type, and other necessary equipment.[15] One of the first missionaries who advocated the use of typography on a large scale, Morrison in a letter to the editor of the *Chinese Repository* said: "The importance of procuring Chinese movable types at a moderate expense, is, in my judgment, an object of the first importance toward the diffusion of useful knowledge and the Christian religion, in Eastern Asia and the islands thereof. . . . As to produce it, I know nothing so important as the casting of cheap movable types, or Chinese characters."[16]

After his arrival Thoms, with the assistance of a few Chinese type cutters, embarked on a laborious task of engraving characters on the face of type made of an alloy of type metal and tin. Six hundred copies of the *Dictionary*, in six volumes, were printed between 1815 and 1822 at a cost of £12,000. Thoms remained with the press in Macao until March, 1825, when he returned to England.[17]

In the printing of Morrison's *Dictionary* two fonts of different sizes—known as "English" and "two-line great primer"—were prepared. During the forty years that they were in use, upward of 200,000 separate type were cut. The assortment of characters was over 20,000, but the number for each was insufficient for printing Chinese books. The characters had a foreign look about them; therefore, only bilingual works were attempted. Besides Morrison's *Dictionary*, two smaller lexicographies and twenty other English-Chinese works were printed. The fonts were destroyed in Canton in 1856, during the upheavals of that time.[18]

The first systematic attempt to produce an extensive font of Chinese type by means of matrices was made by Marcellin Legrand, an expert type founder in Paris. It was made at the suggestion of George Pauthier, a member of the Asiatic

[14] D. MacGillivray (ed.), *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807–1907)* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907), p. 2.

[15] Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), III, 209.

[16] I (1833), 414.

[17] Morse, *op. cit.*, IV, 82.

[18] Samuel Wells Williams, "Movable Types for Printing Chinese," *Chinese Recorder*, VI (1875), 26.

Society and an avid student of Chinese philosophy, who desired to have his translation of Lao-tzŭ's *Tao-tê ching* published together with the Chinese text. In the interest of science, Legrand consented to undertake the arduous task of cutting steel punches for a font of 2,000 of the most common Chinese characters.

With the assistance of a few Chinese students who happened to be in Paris at that time, he contrived a clever, if not practicable, device whereby a character—if formed by two component parts, the radical and the primitive—was cast on two separate type bodies, thus cutting down to a minumum the total number of matrices needed for a font of Chinese characters. The radical was cut on one-third of the body and the primitive on two-thirds. In the divisible class a character was formed by the union of the two parts, either horizontally or vertically. For the indivisible characters, i.e., those which could not be broken up into two parts, single type had to be made. With this font it was found that, by interchanging the combination of the component parts of different words, an aggregate of more than 22,000 characters could be formed, sufficient to meet the needs of ordinary books.[19]

A prospectus entitled *Notice sur la fonte des types mobiles d'un charactère chinois, gravé sur acier par Marcellin Legrand, graveur des nouveaux types de l'imprimerie royale; sous la direction de M. Pauthier* was issued in 1836. Accompanied by specimens, it read, in part, as follows:

> We desire to enjoy the same advantages in the Chinese, and thus enable all sinologues, colleges, and printers, to procure either a fount, or the copper matrices of the types we announce. M. Pauthier, in order to encourage Chinese literature, formed the design of publishing a translation of the principal philosophical works of that country, with the original text on the opposite page: and desirous of giving to these editions all the typographical perfection which can now be obtained in Europe, he addressed himself to M. Marcellin Legrand, who for the interest of science, was willing to cut steel punches for two thousand of the most common Chinese characters, to be increased from time to time, as occasion might require. The dimension of these characters being only *fourteen-points* on each side, they could be used with ordinary letter-press, without injuring the neatness of the page.
>
> But it was not sufficient to have an elegant fount of Chinese types, it was also necessary to find out a method of composing and distributing them. For this purpose, the characters have been arranged under the two hundred and fourteen radicals of the Chinese language, each one having the number given to it in this classification cut in the nick, so as to enable the printer, whatever his degree of intelligence, to compose Chinese, with as little difficulty as numerical figures.[20]

To the specimen of characters he engraved Legrand attached the following remarks:

> Of all the languages in the known world, the most difficult to represent by moveable types, is, without controversy, the Chinese; having hitherto baffled the most skilful European typographers. . . . It was necessary, therefore, to make something more complete and definite; and to solve the problem of representing the figurative language of China, with the fewest possible elements, without, however, altering the composition of the symbols.[21]

The Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was much interested in this font. In 1836, at the instance of Mr. Walter Lowrie, its secretary, it placed an order for a complete set of matrices at a cost of over five thousand dollars.[22] Accordingly, a set of 3,000 was

[19] Samuel Wells Williams, "Chinese Metallic Types," *Chinese Repository*, III (1835), 528–33.

[20] Quoted in Walter Henry Medhurst, *China, Its State and Prospect* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1838), pp. 449–50.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 450.

[22] John C. Lowrie, *A Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*

shipped to China to be used by the Presbyterian Mission at Macao in printing religious works.[23]

As can readily be seen, the greatest drawback of this font was that the component parts of many characters were out of proportion and the unnatural combination of them resulted in incongruity. Furthermore, characters from these matrices, made by foreign craftsmen who had no knowledge of the Chinese language, appeared a little stiff and somewhat artificial. On the whole, however, the font was neat and handsome; and, notwithstanding its defects, it proved to be invaluable to the printing houses.

Another method of producing metal type was introduced about the year 1833. Samuel Dyer (1804–43), of the London Missionary Society at Penang, procured a set of engraved wooden blocks. By making castings equal in thickness to the common height of the metal type and then sawing the plates into squares, he obtained separate type.[24] This method was also used by the Royal Printing Office in Paris in 1838.[25] It was found that this process was not satisfactory, as the characters produced were rough and inelegant, owing to the soft texture of the wood. Any uneveness and discrepancies of the block were transferred to the stereotype plates and, consequently, to the individual type. If the font was in continual use, it would last only five to seven years and a new font would have to be cast.

Dissatisfied with the stereotype process of manufacturing metal type, Mr. Dyer decided to cut steel punches, from which copper matrices were struck and the type cast. In favor of punch-cutting, he argued that "the punch is the foundation of perpetuity."[26] Though not a practical printer himself, Mr. Dyer was far-sighted enough to make the serious suggestion of employing movable type for printing Chinese texts on a large scale and at a moderate cost.

In a prospectus which he circulated on October 31, 1833, Dyer pointed out both the utility of the Chinese metallic type and the practicability of making them elegantly with punches and matrices.[27] Estimating that each single punch would cost 68 cents and the copper matrices struck from these punches would cost 2½ cents each, he solicited funds to procure the necessary tools and machinery in order to carry on the work. To reduce the cost of production, he also resorted to the device of the divisible type. Many friends responded and contributed generously. In the course of several years of unremitting labor, amid numerous obstacles, Dyer managed to complete the cutting of 1,845 punches for a larger size (two-line pica) and a portion of a smaller size before his untimely death in 1843. He also made a study of 3,000 commonly used Chinese characters for the purpose of facilitating the cutting of punches and the casting of metal type.[28]

After Mr. Dyer's death the work of punch-cutting was suspended for a few years. It was resumed at Hongkong in 1847 by Mr. Richard Cole, a skilful

of America (New York: Wilson Rankin, 1868), p. 132.

[23] *Specimen of the Chinese Type Belonging to the Chinese Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (Macao: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1844).

[24] "Movable Types," *Chinese Repository,* I (1833), 416.

[25] Samuel Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1833), I, 604.

[26] *Chinese Repository,* I (1833), 417.

[27] "Brief Statement Relative to the Formation of Metal Types for the Chinese Language," *ibid.,* II (1834), 477–78.

[28] *A Selection of Three Thousand Characters Being the Most Important in the Chinese Language* (Malacca: Anglo-Chinese College, 1834).

printer and type cutter of Indiana, formerly connected with the American Presbyterian Mission Press. Under the auspices of the London Missionary Society he completed punches for the smaller set by 1851. Each set consisted of 4,700 characters, which were subsequently doubled, so that the complete fonts were sufficient for printing not only religious tracts and the Scriptures but also ordinary Chinese books. Because of their clearness, elegance, and durability, they were in great demand. The smaller set, called "three-line diamond type," was especially popular with newspaper publishers.[29]

In 1833 the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff (1803–51) conceived the idea of making matrices on copper plates half an inch square, by chiseling out the character in intaglio in reverse. When matrices for a font of 4,000 common characters were sent to Serampore to be used in casting, they were found to be unsatisfactory, as the characters were ill-formed, uneven, and far from perfect.[30] There was little doubt that producing matrices by drilling instead of by punching the metal was impractical, and this method was soon abandoned.

At the time of Mr. Dyer's death, A. Beyerhaus of Berlin was also engaged in preparing a font of Chinese characters on the Legrand principle of divisible type, under the sponsorship of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in New York.[31] This was of an intermediate size between Dyer and Cole's two fonts and was sent to China in 1859 to be used by the Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai. Of the 4,130 matrices, 2,711 represented full-body, indivisible characters; of the remainder, 1,290 were two-thirds body, 109 one-third body, and 20 one-half body. In all, a total of 22,031 different characters could be formed with about one-fifth the number of matrices. Known as the "Berlin font" or "double-pica," these characters were listed in a catalog which appeared in 1862.[32] Although more elegant than Legrand's creation and commending itself to the taste of a great number of people, this font left much to be desired. Some characters formed by the union of two parts were disproportionate, and for this reason the horizontal division was soon discarded.

Up to 1859 the best method of making matrices was through the medium of steel punches. The type foundries were able to cast complete fonts of whatever quantities were needed by native as well as missionary printing plants. But every single punch had to be cut by hand—a laborious and expensive undertaking. In that year an important development in Chinese typography took place, and the method of making matrices was revolutionized. Mr. William Gamble (1830–86), a native of Ramelton, Ireland, after considerable study decided to adapt the electrotype process, which was then new, to the making of Chinese matrices. Prior to his work in China he had come to the United States at the age of seventeen and learned the printing trade at the Altemus Company, a large printing firm in Philadelphia. Thence he went to New York to work in the Bible House until 1858, when he was sent to China to take charge of the Presbyterian Mission

[29] Dyer's font was listed in *Specimen of Chinese Type, Made by the London Missionary Society* (Hongkong, 1849); Cole's font was listed in *Specimen of Three-Line Diamond Type Made by the London Missionary Society* (Hongkong, 1850).

[30] Samuel Wells Williams, "Movable Types for Printing Chinese," *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, VI (1875), 26.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[32] *List of Chinese Characters Formed by the Combination of the Divisible Type of the Berlin Font Used at the Shanghai Mission Press of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Shanghai, 1862).

Press, then in Ningpo. He took with him type, matrices, and a casting machine.[33]

No sooner had Gamble assumed his new post in China than he came to the conclusion that the electrotype process was the most suitable method for making matrices for Chinese characters, and, by the end of 1861, he reported his initial success in his experiments.

The characters were first cut on close-grained, hard boxwood, from which wax impressions were made. The mold was next put into a depositing trough containing copper solution. When the copper deposit was thick enough, it was trimmed and fixed in a brass holder. After the copper plates were sawed into square pieces, each containing a character, matrices by the hundreds were produced.[34] This process was a great improvement over the old one of making matrices from steel punches and cost only a fraction of the time and expense. Characters appeared more finished and refined and possessed more of the calligraphic excellence than could be obtained by the old method. Moreover, it was possible to reduce the size of the type, without loss of clarity, to small pica for use in bilingual books (such as dictionaries, grammars, and scientific works), which the press was continually called upon to publish.

A second contribution in the development of Chinese typography which Mr. Gamble made was the arrangement of the type case. By making careful studies, he ascertained the relative frequency with which certain characters occur in general Chinese literature. With the help of two Chinese scholars who were employed for a period of two years each, he examined 4,166 octavo pages, including the Bible and twenty-seven other works printed at the Presbyterian Mission Press. These involved the use of nearly 1,300,000 characters. His research showed that, of the 40,919 characters in the famous *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*, only 5,150 different ones were used in the publications which he and his associates examined.

As a result of his extensive research, Gamble compiled two lists.[35] The first contained the 5,150 characters which, he found, were in common use and were arranged by the radical-and-stroke system used by the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*. The number of times that each of these characters occurred was placed opposite it in figures. The second list contained all the different characters examined, arranged according to the relative frequency of their use. For this purpose, they were divided into fifteen groups, each of which contained all the characters occurring a certain number of times. Within each group the characters were arranged also according to the radical-stroke system.

The usefulness of these lists can readily be seen. Besides regulating the number of each kind of type to be cast for a font, the arrangement of the type in type cases greatly facilitated the work of the compositor. The type case which Gamble designed, large enough to accommodate different kinds of characters, was in the shape of a hopper, with the compositor in the vortex. The arrangement of the font was so compact and convenient that the compositor had all the characters he wanted within easy reach. This rendered his work at least three times as rapid and cheap as was possible under the old arrangement.

[33] J. Wherry, *Sketch of the Work of the Late William Gamble, Esq., in China* (Londonderry, 1888).

[34] Gilbert McIntosh, *The Mission Press in China, Being a Jubilee Retrospect of the American Presbyterian Mission* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1895), p. 20.

[35] William Gamble, *Two Lists of Selected Characters Containing All in the Bible and Twenty-seven Other Books with Introductory Remarks* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1861).

It may be of interest to add here that the Scriptures which Mr. Gamble examined contained an aggregate of 676,827 characters, of which only 4,141 different ones were found. The Old Testament contained a total of 503,663 characters of 3,946 different kinds; the New Testament contained a total of 173,164 of 2,713 different kinds. The Confucian collection of *Four Books* contained 2,328 different characters; the *Five Classics* contained 2,426 different characters which did not occur in the *Four Books*. The total number of different characters used in all the *Thirteen Classics* was 6,544.[36]

Two important conclusions were reached by Mr. Gamble. First, five or six thousand well-selected characters, about one-seventh the total number, are sufficient for all practical purposes. Second, a few characters, owing to the great frequency with which they occur, constitute the great body of those in a book, while the great majority occur exceedingly seldom.[37]

Having succeeded in adapting the electrotype process for the manufacture of matrices, Mr. Gamble next turned his attention to Japanese type. He stayed in China until 1869, when he was invited by a Japanese prince to teach type-founding and printing in that country. After staying there several months, he returned to the United States.

With necessary ramifications and some technical improvements, Mr. Gamble's methods of making and arranging Chinese type are still in use in China today. There can be little doubt that his contributions were far-reaching in the Chinese printing industry.

It may not be out of place to review here briefly the work of a few of the mission presses which figured prominently in the development of typography in China. The London Missionary Society established a printing office in Malacca as early as 1818, under the supervision of Dr. Robert Morrison and William Milne (1785–1822), in connection with the Anglo-Chinese College there. At first, they relied on the conventional method of block-printing for their religious literature. A practical printer, Mr. Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857), later relieved Mr. Milne of his duties in the printing office. The press was subsequently transferred to Hongkong and placed in charge of Mr. Richard Cole, formerly of the Presbyterian Mission Press, from 1847 to 1852.

Meanwhile, in 1844, Mr. Medhurst also established a press in Shanghai known as the "Mo-hai shu-kuan." It was under the supervision of Mr. Alexander Wylie (1815–87) from 1847 until 1860. When Dr. James Legge (1815–97), the famous translator of the Chinese classics, returned to England in 1846, he was anxious to find a suitable man to take charge of the Shanghai printing establishment. Wylie was engaged and sent to the office of Sir Charles Reed to study printing before he sailed for China. Devoting himself wholeheartedly to his work, he became a master of the art of printing as well a a noted scholar and Sinologist. He had an important share in the improvement of the manufacture of the metallic type. Some of the editions of the Scriptures which he printed were beautiful specimens of typography.[38]

Among the important works accomplished by the London Missionary Press in Shanghai was the printing of the then newly revised New Testament, commonly called the "Delegates' Version,"

[36] *Ibid.*, p. iii.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. v.

[38] James Thomas, "Biographical Sketch of Alexander Wylie," in Wylie's *Chinese Researches* (Shanghai, 1897).

completed in 1853. Several hundred thousand copies were printed and distributed at the time of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion.[39]

When the Presbyterian Mission Press was moved to Shanghai in 1860, the London Missionary Society Press was suspended. The press in Hongkong likewise ceased operation in 1879, when it was sold to a Chinese concern[40] headed by Wang T'ao (1828–97), who, for more than ten years, collaborated with James Legge in the translation of the Chinese classics. The newly founded daily ***Tsun Wan Yat Pao*** (*Hsün-huan jih-pao*) in Hongkong was printed from this press.[41]

A second mission press that may be mentioned is the American Board Mission Press, the first to be established on Chinese soil.[42] Shortly after his arrival in China in 1830, Dr. Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801–61) wrote to the *Missionary Herald* suggesting the advisability of establishing a printing office there. In response to his request, a printing press was sent out from the United States and, under his supervision, was put into operation in Canton early in 1832. One of the important missionary journals, the *Chinese Repository*, was started and printed from this press. At the outset, only printing in the English language was undertaken. Then it was suggested that the printing of Chinese works be commenced. By way of experiment and to avoid both the delay and the expense consequent upon an attempt to cut a font of metallic type, it was decided to make stereotype plates from engraved wooden blocks.

In 1833 blocks of the Sermon on the Mount in twenty pages were sent to Boston to be reproduced. This was the first Chinese book ever stereotyped and the first Chinese book ever printed in the United States.

This press was subsequently turned over to Dr. Samuel Wells Williams (1812–84), who was sent out by the board to take charge of it. Before he left for China, he had learned as much of the printing business as he possibly could.[43] As early as 1835 the press applied to Mr. Dyer for a font of type for its use. In the same year it also took over the type of the East India Company, which consisted of two fonts, a large-sized one, filling sixty cases, and a small-sized one, filling sixteen cases. The former numbered 46,000 and the latter 22,000. It was estimated that each type cost from five to six cents, exclusive of the metal. The whole outfit was formally given to Dr. Williams by the British authorities through Sir Henry Pottinger in 1842, when he wound up the affairs of the East India Company.[44] For twenty-one years Williams made use of these hand-cut type, in addition to cast type acquired later, for many works printed under his supervision, until, on December 14, 1856, the printing plant in Canton was destroyed by fire. Twelve years later, in 1868, it was reopened in Peking.

Mention has been made elsewhere of Beyerhaus' work in Berlin, which, owing to the lack of financial support, he was unable to continue. When Williams heard of his predicament, he enlisted in 1845 the help of Mr. Walter Lowrie, the secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, who agreed to defray half the ex-

[39] MacGillivray, *op. cit.*, p. 635.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Roswell Sessions Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1933), p. 42.

[42] W. S. Holt, "The Mission Press in China," *Chinese Recorder*, X (1879), 206–19, 270–75.

[43] Frederick Wells Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams* (New York: Putnam's, 1889), p. 47.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

pense of cutting about 3,200 punches. The other half Dr. Williams himself raised by delivering a series of more than one hundred lectures on China, his own church being unable to help financially.[45]

A third mission press which contributed greatly to the development of typography in China was the Presbyterian Press, established in Macao in 1844 under the charge of Mr. Richard Cole. With him was A Yuk, a Chinese lad whom a missionary had taken to the United States to learn the printing trade.[46] Type-casting commenced as soon as the press was put into operation. To this mission we are indebted for improvement in the manufacture of the metallic type and for the solution of the problem as to its general applicability to press-printing. In 1845 the press, then known as the "Chinese and American Holy Classic Book Establishment," was moved from Macao to Ningpo. In the following year a new casting furnace and other necessary equipment arrived from the United States. Orders for fonts of type came from many cities in China and in foreign countries. Mr. Cole remained in charge until 1847, when he was transferred to the London Missionary Society Press in Hongkong. The press was moved again in 1860, this time to Shanghai. Mr. Gamble, who arrived in 1858 to take charge of it, was responsible for placing it on a solid foundation and remained as its superintendent until 1869.

After Gamble had improved the method of matrix-making, the type foundry of the Presbyterian Press was able to furnish complete fonts to other printers not only in various parts of China but also in Japan, England, France, and other countries. Thanks to his improved method of making matrices, many new Chinese printing establishments and newspapers came into being and bore the impress of Gamble's hand.

When, for example, the Wu-ying Palace, the imperial printing plant in Peking, was consumed by fire on July 28, 1869, the Office of Foreign Affairs, or Tsung-li ya-mên, procured several fonts of metal type from this same foundry,[47] by which many official compilations of great bulk were printed.

Again in 1874, a large font of three-line diamond and another of small-pica type were sold to a Chinese company in Shanghai for the purpose of printing a daily newspaper, presumably the *Shun Pao*, founded in 1872. A large font was also sold to the Catholic Press at Zia-kai-wei in Shanghai.[48]

Before concluding, we may point out that typography in China has been a progressive development involving the cumulative efforts of many people. A brief summary may make clearer the stages which have led to its status today.

The first stage was the cutting of individual characters on various materials such as plastic clay, wood, and metal. This method dates back to the middle of the eleventh century and was used by printers of the East India Company in the early nineteenth century; it involved inordinate labor and expense.

The second stage was the casting of a thick mass of metal plates from finely cut blocks. Separate type were obtained by sawing the stereotyped plates into pieces. This process likewise proved unsatisfactory and was soon abandoned.

The third stage was the cutting of a character on a solid piece of steel, which served as a punch to be driven into a

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[46] Holt, *op. cit.*

[47] *China Review*, VI (1878), 299.

[48] *Annual Report of the Presbyterian Mission Press at Shanghai for the Year Ending December 31, 1874*, pp. 11–12.

piece of copper, used as the matrix for that character. This method, though an improvement over the other two, was nevertheless time-consuming and costly.

Finally, the adaptation by William Gamble of the then newly developed electrotype process to the making of Chinese type matrices placed typography on a firm foundation. The introduction of a scientific arrangement of the font overcame the initial handicaps in handling the overwhelming number of type.

With the spread of typography, printing by rubbing or friction gave way to press-printing. The printer's oil ink, which could be transferred better to modern paper, took the place of the old native ink made from lampblack, which was absorbed into the paper from block prints. Pressure-inking by means of rollers supplanted handwork. Elegant script for the modern fonts displaced the prosaic styles of the traditional ones.

The practicability, economy, and expeditiousness of movable type having been demonstrated, enterprising and farsighted businessmen in China began to organize modern printing establishments. The Kiangnan Arsenal, established in Shanghai in 1865, had a printing press which issued more than two hundred titles, mostly on modern science and kindred subjects, translated from Western languages. Many of these books were printed with movable type. The Commercial Press, the largest printing concern in China, was founded in 1897. Numerous other printing establishments came into existence. Taking advantage of the improved metal type and modern machinery, they helped to set up high standards of letterpress printing.

With the advent of Western industrialism and the accompanying influx of knowledge and ideas, the printing industry in China has contributed much toward the cultural awakening of the country. In its more than a century of modernization, typography has prospered mainly from the mechanical facilities introduced from the West and the increased demand for reading material as a result of better educational facilities. The diffusion of knowledge and the enlightenment of the masses have been gradually accelerated. But there is much room for improvement as far as typography is concerned. An important problem is the standardization of the size of type manufactured by different type foundries, so that they can be used interchangeably. Because of the nature of the Chinese characters, there are problems related to typography in China which are nonexistent in the West and other countries using alphabetic scripts. For example, the setting and redistribution of type, which are done automatically in the West, have to be done manually in China. Visitors to the composing rooms of a printing plant in China are appalled at the seemingly endless rows of Chinese type arranged on inclined shelves. A skilful compositor can set only about 1,500 to 2,000 characters an hour. The surmounting of this inherent difficulty, as well as numerous others, will tax the ingenuity and demand the co-operation of all those interested in the development of typography in China.

THE COVER DESIGN

DR. BAPTISTA FARFENGUS finished his earliest known book, an Italian translation of Ovid's *Heroides*, in Brescia on October 2, 1489.

Farfengus was a priest and a doctor of canon law. The number of priests in the fifteenth century was greater than the number of available livings, and many clerics sought employment in the new and expanding printing industry, usually working as editors or proofreaders. Farfengus, however, was probably not one of these. A doctor of canon law was usually a mature man and one successful in the church. Farfengus apparently possessed sufficient capital to fit out a shop; his supposed partner, whose initials appear with his on his first mark, may best be presumed to have been a practical printer to whom the priest furnished capital and business direction. Above all, in contrast with the priests who were driven to take this form of secular employment, Dr. Farfengus, in his colophons and in his printer's marks, kept emphasizing with pride his clerical status.

Brescia in the last decade of the fifteenth century was slowly recovering from the losses it had suffered in the recent wars. The printing trade there was dominated by the brothers Angelus and Jacobus Britannicus. Farfengus almost certainly was dependent on them: he used types apparently struck from their matrices. He confined his printing to small popular works in Italian and Latin, which did not compete with those printed by the brothers Britannicus.

Farfengus is known to have produced forty editions during the ten years in which he printed; his latest known book is dated 1499. But, as most of these were quarto pamphlets, which are easily destroyed, he may have printed many others that are now lost. Most of Farfengus' productions lie in the fields of popular piety, saints' legends, law, and the classics.

The first of the three marks employed by Dr. Farfengus is reproduced here. It was used in the first of his books, the afore-mentioned Italian translation of Ovid's *Heroides*, and was probably designed with this book in mind. In it a dead oak tree stands with live shoots growing from its roots and with this legend from Ovid's *Tristia* (iv. 9. 14 [corrupt text]) extending through its boughs: *Sepe Iovis quercus fulmine adusta viret* ("Often the oak blasted by the lightning of Jupiter grows green once more"). Beneath, on the left, appears a form of Farfengus' initials, "P. B." (Presbyter Baptista, i.e., "Baptista, the priest"); on the right, "M. P.," the initials of his supposed partner, whose name is unknown.

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

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Canon Bell has lectured widely on religion and education, not only in the United States but in England and Canada as well. Among his many published works are *Beyond Agnosticism* (1929), *A Man Can Live* (1946), and *Crisis in Education* (1949). About to be published is *Crowd Culture: An Examination of the American Way of Life.*

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Miss Sabine joined the staff of the Newark (N.J.) Public Library in 1936, to take charge

of the New Jersey History Collection. Since 1946 she has been the library's principal art librarian. She has contributed booklists, catalogs, and articles to professional journals and organizations, including the Newark Public Library. At the present time, she is working on an architectural and historical study of the Church of St. Étienne de Nevers.

JESSE H. SHERA: for biographical information see the *Library Quarterly*, III (1933), 422; XV (1945), 76; and XXI (1951), 43.

FRANCES LANDER SPAIN, born in Jacksonville, Florida, was educated at Winthrop College, South Carolina, and Florida State College for Women. She received her A.B. in library science from Emory University in 1936 and her A.M. and Ph.D. from the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago in 1940 and 1944, respectively.

Mrs. Spain headed the Department of Library Science at Winthrop College, South Carolina, from 1936 to 1949; during the last four years of her tenure she was also the librarian of the Winthrop College Library. Since 1949 she has been assistant director of the Graduate School of Library Science at the University of Southern California. At the present time on leave of absence from Southern California, she is completing a year's assignment of teaching library science at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand, under a Fulbright award.

Mrs. Spain has contributed numerous articles to library and educational literature. Most recently, she published "The American University Library" in the *Magazine* of Chulalongkorn University (1951) and "The Role of the Library in a Democratic Society" in the Bangkok *Standard* (1952). She has also, for the last two years, been a member of the ALA Board of Education for Librarianship.

LEWIS F. STIEG: for biographical information see the *Library Quarterly*, XII (1942), 110–11. From 1943 to 1947 Mr. Stieg was assistant director and professor of library science in the University of Illinois Library School. Since then he has been university librarian and director of the School of Library Science in the University of Southern California.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON: for biographical information see the *Library Quarterly*, XII (1942), 111, and XVI (1946), 246. From 1946 until 1948 Mr. Thompson was head librarian of Western Michigan College of Education. In September, 1948, he assumed his present position of director of libraries at the University of Kentucky. From November, 1951, to March, 1952, he served as special adviser on library problems to the Turkish Ministry of Education in Ankara.

Mr. Thompson has contributed widely to professional, literary, and bibliographical journals and has served on the editorial staffs of *Books Abroad* and *College and Research Libraries*.

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY: for biographical information see the *Library Quarterly*, VII (1937), 435; XXII (1952), 39; and *Who's Who in America*.

KWANG TSING WU was born on September 11, 1905. He received his B.A. from the University of Nanking, his B.S. from Columbia University, an M.A.L.S. from the University of Michigan, and the Ph.D. from the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago.

Mr. Wu has, in the past, been librarian of Ginling College and head of the editorial and cataloging department of the National Library of Peiping, China. Since 1938 he has been a member of the Division of Orientalia in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Among Mr. Wu's many published articles and monographs on Chinese books, printing, and libraries, his most recent, "Chinese Printing under Four Alien Dynasties (916–1368)," appeared in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (December, 1950). At present, he is doing extensive research on Chinese printing in the Sung Dynasty, which is to be the subject of a projected long article.